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California Women Political Leaders

Vera Smith Schultz

IDEALS AND REALITIES IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

With an Introduction by
Margaret Azevedo

Interviews Conducted by
Gabrielle Morris

Copy No. 1



Vera Schultz
1964

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PREFACE

The following interview is one of a series of tape-recorded memoirs in the California Women Political Leaders Oral History Project. The series has been designed to study the political activities of a representative group of California women who became active in politics during the years between the passage of the woman's suffrage amendment and the current feminist movement--roughly the years between 1920 and 1965. They represent a variety of views: conservative, moderate, liberal, and radical, although most of them worked within the Democratic and Republican parties. They include elected and appointed officials at national, state, and local governmental levels. For many the route to leadership was through the political party--primarily those divisions of the party reserved for women.

Regardless of the ultimate political level attained, these women have all worked in election campaigns on behalf of issues and candidates. They have raised funds, addressed envelopes, rung doorbells, watched polls, staffed offices, given speeches, planned media coverage, and when permitted, helped set policy. While they enjoyed many successes, a few also experienced defeat as candidates for public office.

Their different family and cultural backgrounds, their social attitudes, and their personalities indicate clearly that there is no typical woman political leader; their candid, first-hand observations and their insights about their experiences provide fresh source material for the social and political history of women in the past half century.

In a broader framework their memoirs provide valuable insights into the political process as a whole. The memoirists have thoughtfully discussed details of party organization and the work of the men and women who served the party. They have analysed the process of selecting party leaders and candidates, running campaigns, raising funds, and drafting party platforms, as well as the more subtle aspects of political life such as maintaining harmony and coping with fatigue, frustration, and defeat. Perceived through it all are the pleasures of friendships, struggles, and triumphs in a common cause.

The California Women Political Leaders Oral History Project has been financed by both an outright and a matching grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Matching funds were provided by the Rockefeller Foundation for the Helen Gahagan Douglas unit of the project, and by individuals who were interested in supporting memoirs of their friends and colleagues. Professors Judith Blake Davis, Albert Lepawsky, and Walton Bean have served as principal investigators during the period July 1975-December 1977 that the project was underway. This series is the second phase of the Women in Politics Oral History Project, the first of which dealt with the experiences of eleven women who had been leaders and rank-and-file workers in the suffrage movement.

The Regional Oral History Office was established to tape record autobiographical interviews with persons significant in the history of the West and the nation. The Office is under the administrative supervision of James D. Hart, Director of The Bancroft Library. Interviews were conducted by Amelia R. Fry, Miriam Stein, Gabrielle Morris, and Malca Chall.

Malca Chall, Project Director
Women in Politics Oral History Project

Willa Baum, Department Head
Regional Oral History Office

20 May 1977
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CALIFORNIA WOMEN POLITICAL LEADERS ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

- March Fong Eu, *High Achieving Nonconformist in Local and State Government*. 1977
- Jean Wood Fuller, *Organizing Women: Careers in Volunteer Politics and Government Administration*. 1977
- Elizabeth R. Gatov, *Grassroots Party Organizer to United States Treasurer*. 1977
- Bernice Hubbard May, *A Native Daughter's Leadership in Public Affairs*. 1976
- Hulda Hoover McLean, *A Conservative Crusader for Good Government*. 1977
- Julia Porter, *Dedicated Democrat and City Planner*. 1977
- Vera Schultz, *Marin County Perspective on Ideals and Realities in State and Local Government*. 1977
- Clara Shirpsier, *One Women's Role in Democratic Party Politics*. 1975
- Elizabeth Snyder, *California's First Woman State Party Chairman*. 1977
- Eleanor Wagner, *Independent Political Coalitions: Electoral, Legislative, and Community*. 1977
- Carolyn Wolfe, *Educating for Citizenship: A Career in Community Affairs and the Democratic Party, 1906-1976*. 1977

Interviews in Process

Marjorie Benedict	La Rue McCormick
Odessa Cox	Emily Pike
Pauline Davis	Wanda Sankary
Ann Eliaser	Hope Mendoza Schechter
Kimiko Fujii	Carol Arth Waters
Elinor R. Heller	Rosalind Wyman
Patricia R. Hitt	Mildred Younger
Lucile Hosmer	

Helen Gahagan Douglas Unit

Interviews in Process

Helen Gahagan Douglas

Arthur Goldschmidt

Juanita Barbee

Elizabeth Goldschmidt

Rachel Bell

Leo Goodman

Fay Bennett

Charles Hogan

Evelyn Chavoor

Mary Keyserling

Alis De Sola

Judge Byron Lindsley

Tilford Dudley

Helen Lustig

Walter Gahagan

Philip Noel-Baker

Frank Rogers

INTRODUCTION

Vera Schultz -- An Uncommon Woman

When I began this introduction to Vera Schultz's oral history for The Bancroft Library I found I couldn't remember when and where we had met though we have been warm friends and political associates for some twenty-four years. Typically, she did. It was in a carpool going to a Democratic function in San Francisco. She was then a candidate for Marin County Supervisor. Whatever the time and place, I was bound to become an instantaneous Schultz supporter.

What attracted me was not only her obvious superiority in knowledge, experience, and intellect, it was a more personal quality. Something that drew people to her, made devoted adherents of them, evoked enormous energy in her behalf. I struggle to define it, and the closest I can come is to say it was her compelling belief in the importance of whatever she was doing.

I am not speaking of self-importance; she is not a self-important person. I am speaking of her conviction that what she was advocating was right, and urgent, and for the public benefit. To almost any one of the good government measures she campaigned for, separated from her, one might have said, "So what?". But not after one had heard her talk about it.

She did more than talk, of course. Once an objective was clear in her mind, her energies went unswervingly toward it. She didn't waste time in doubts, and she didn't back off in the face of opposition. That is what made her so effective as an elected official. (It made her some enemies too, although she always seemed surprised, naively perhaps, that anyone would take a political difference personally, since she did not.)

I don't use the word "effective" lightly. I can name, with little fear of argument, at least six major innovations (the Frank Lloyd Wright civic center; the county administrator; the personnel commission; the park and recreation department; the department of public works; the redevelopment of Marin City) that would not have been accomplished had she not been in that place at that time. Some would have occurred later probably, some not at all. That is a pretty good test of leadership in my book.

Once during the debates over the building of a new county civic center she asked me what I thought about retaining Frank Lloyd Wright to design it. I said I didn't think much of the idea, and didn't we have some talented local architects? She looked troubled and dropped the subject. She was usually troubled if she couldn't get an approval she sought, but she was quite capable of carrying on without it. Afterward I realized that, characteristically, she had set her mind on getting what she saw as the best for Marin County; nothing else would do. Agree or not, one had to respect her for it.

The portrait I have drawn here is a portrait of a reformer, and that's what Vera is. What happened to her in that bitter 1960 election was not mere chance, an ironic accident of timing. It was what muckraker Lincoln Steffens described so vividly decades ago: the people elect reformers to reform somebody else; and when reform becomes uncomfortable they reject it. After all, Vera had taken on the Court House Gang, and had exposed an incompetent county assessor, and called for reappraisals. And when those actions brought in a new assessor and new, honest assessments, the voters turned in anger on the leader whose effectiveness they had been willing to reward only so long as it didn't hurt.

Why did a woman of such uncommon abilities never hold public office again or receive some prestigious appointment? She had performed her political party chores, and her local policies had been vindicated when her 1960 opponent was recalled a year later. She was fifty-eight at the time--the age at which Bella Abzug is seriously considering, and being considered for, the race for Mayor of New York City.

Vera and I have talked about that, and we have a common insight. We both felt we had licked the anti-woman thing, at least in our own views of ourselves. Then we found ourselves up against the old age thing. Americans don't necessarily set store by experience in their public officials. They sentimentalize youthful candidates and treat old ones as curiosities. They identify those of us who have been around a while with something stodgy called The Establishment. Too many of Vera's and my generation have been victims of our own unconscious acceptance of that image, even when we knew we as individuals still had creative minds and didn't nod off at meetings.

I've observed many a supervisorial candidate and been one myself since Vera left that field of action, and I have yet to see another with the same single-minded devotion of principle. A new fad in political leadership has emerged. Listening to the people has been translated into doing whatever the people demand at any given moment, regardless of its effect on some more distant public or on the eventual common good. Some of the office holders I see today remind me of a toy I had as a child--a jointed wooden figure on a stick that you could manipulate by pulling a string. They appear to lack any will or purpose of their own.

Not long ago I watched Vera address a group of women office holders and seekers, mostly young. They were delighted with her. They responded to her idealism. They didn't seem to think she was out of style. Maybe there was an incipient Vera Schultz amongst them, and maybe that new one will run successfully for office 'til she's a hundred.

Margaret Azevedo
Member-at-large
Marin County Planning Commission

30 April 1977
Tiburon, California

INTERVIEW HISTORY

Perhaps the least known aspect of California politics is county government, although it has been the traditional vehicle for administration of state functions to local citizens. That it is a lively arena with strong dynamics, and linkages with city and state elected bodies, as well as partisan interests, is evident in this memoir by Vera Smith Schultz, covering forty years during which rural Marin County came to grips with the pressures of suburbanization.

Six interviews were recorded on Tuesday afternoons during February, March, and April, 1976, in the Schultz's sprawling ranch style home on Ralston Avenue in Mill Valley, where the big living room window looks down a wooded shoulder of Mount Tamalpais across bustling southern Marin to an arm of San Francisco Bay. A friendly, solid, energetic person, Mrs. Schultz talked freely about her varied career, stopping to consider factors related to being a woman in politics in the 1950s, but more concerned about the government programs she espoused.

Mrs. Schultz discusses her childhood exposure to democratic principles, her years of close observation of the California legislature as League of Women Voters' advocate, her election to and service on the Mill Valley City Council (1946-50) and County Board of Supervisors (1952-60), her campaigns for Assembly and Senate, and her participation in state and national Democratic party activities. Trained as a teacher, although she never followed the profession, she confesses to an educator's zeal for demonstrating the benefits of improvements in government organization and of participation in the political process.

These ideals kept bumping into unpleasant realities such as undue influence on the legislature by some lobbyists, control of county functions by an old guard "courthouse gang," and devious campaign and election maneuvers, but Mrs. Schultz' belief in and enthusiasm for the patient detail work of democracy remained unquenched. Like other women political leaders, she was faced with polite condescension and less polite inquiries as to why she wasn't home taking care of her family. Like other women in politics, she has been ingenious in promoting use of little-known devices such as a board of freeholders to stimulate independent inquiry into governmental organizations, and fearless in introducing and campaigning for innovations.

While on the Board of Supervisors, she was the focus in a classic confrontation over the old and the new in Marin County. For several years, there had been increasing controversy over construction of a new county administrative center, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright at Mrs. Schultz's suggestion. To Mrs. Schultz, the design embodied her hopes for government and dedication to environmental preservation. Opponents felt the building embodied their loss of control of government and its burgeoning cost. Major property reassessments, resulting from studies endorsed by Mrs. Schultz, were announced during her 1960 campaign for re-election and became an effective issue against her.

Following her defeat, the opposition supervisors voted to stop work on the county building. In one of the sudden reversals of public opinion that make politics so absorbing, Mrs. Schultz' successor was recalled from the Board of Supervisors six months later and the building was completed in 1962. It is a tribute to her good nature that Mrs. Schultz continues in 1977 to work on the citizens' committee for the further development of the county center and to encourage other women to participate in government and run for office.

Mrs. Schultz reviewed the edited transcript of these interviews, making minor revisions and corrections. She also suggested that Margaret Azevedo, campaign worker, candidate, and member of the Marin County Planning Commission, write the accompanying introduction. Additional information on Mrs. Schultz' views on city government is available in The Bancroft Library in the interview she recorded for the Mill Valley Historical Society. Hulda Hoover McLean and Julia Porter, also interviewed for the California Women Political Leaders series, provide further data on local government in Santa Cruz and San Francisco counties.

Gabrielle Morris
Interviewer-Editor

2 March 1977
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I GROWING UP IN NEVADA

[Interview 1: 2 March 1976]

[Tape 1 begins]

Older Sisters' Influence

Morris: We'd like to start with something of your personal family history. You were born on a ranch in southern Nevada?

Schultz: Yes, and I was the last one of my mother's eight children. As the baby of the family, I had a very rich experience enjoying my older brothers and sisters. I always have felt that my wealth has consisted of having been born into a big family that was close and loving.

Morris: Had your parents been Nevada people too?

Schultz: Well, Mother had been born in Utah, I think. Father was born in Nevada.

Morris: His name?

Schultz: John Henry Klingen Smith.

Morris: And your mother's name is--

Schultz: Mathews. (Elizabeth Anne Mathews)

Morris: I understand that your father died when you were quite young.

Schultz: Yes, he did. Father died when I was about five.

Morris: Do you remember him at all?

Schultz: Yes, I remember some things about my father, like running to throw my arms around his legs as he was standing at the kitchen door on the ranch, and having the man look down and finding it wasn't my father! [Laughter] But I loved him very much and was always happy to see him. Father loved his children. We all have happy memories; I have fewer than my brothers and sisters, of course, but I remember Father.

Morris: How did your mother manage, then, raising eight children on her own?

Schultz: Well, that was a very big problem for my mother because she had eight children and no means of income and very little insurance.

We made our home in Tonopah, Nevada, because two of my brothers could find work there, and my older sister, Mae, was able to be employed in the Tonopah Mercantile Grocery Store. Three of the family, then, had jobs there, and so Mother moved the rest of us there. I entered the first grade in Tonopah and we lived there until I was a freshman in high school. We left there then and moved to Reno.

Morris: Had most of your brothers and sisters by then grown up and gone off on their own?

Schultz: They had grown up. My sister Mae had married, my brother Jack had married. But I think perhaps the fact that Mother was widowed and left with this large family caused an exceptional cohesiveness that might not otherwise have occurred. So the boys stayed around where they could help, and we never were widely dispersed.

Morris: Even after everybody grew up?

Schultz: Yes. Our family reunions were sort of traditional. We always went home for Christmas, and the Fourth of July. Mother always had these big baked hams. (Mother was a marvelous cook, and she really laid it out for us at these family dinners.)

Morris: Did she have time for any outside activities or interests?

Schultz: No. Mother was a traditional mother of her time. She had no outside interests that I know of. Her family was her whole world.

Morris: Was church-going a part of family life?

Schultz: No, no. Church was never a part of my early youth, but it did become a part of my life when my sister Mae was widowed and came home with her little daughter, who sort of grew up with me. She came home with a new religion in which she believe greatly. My mother became interested in Christian Science and so did my sister Elizabeth, who was a teacher, and I was introduced to it. I grew up going to Christian Science Sunday school and Christian Science church and was very much interested in it until I was an adult--am still, to some extent, but I don't have the reliance on it that I once did.

Morris: What is the age difference between yourself and your oldest brother and sister?

Schultz: My sister Mae, who is still living, is twenty years older than I.

Morris: Then they were close to adults as you were a young tad.

Schultz: They were adults when I was born. Yes, they were young ladies--my sister Mae and my sister Pattie, as we called her; (her name was Elizabeth Patricia and we called her Pattie). Mae and Pattie were young women when I was born. I have tremendous memories of them.

I used to be so happy when my sister Pattie came home from wherever she was teaching because Pattie taught me too [laughter] and was a very loving person and interested--this is what was so fabulous about having Pattie come home, because Pattie was interested.

Morris: Would their expectations for you have been as important to you as your mother's?

Schultz: More so. I remember--and I think perhaps this is significant--being so disappointed from time to time that my mother would not go to the school functions. I couldn't understand at the time why Mother wouldn't go to the school functions, but I understand it now. Mother felt handicapped and inferior because she herself had not had the advantage of education; nor had Father. A great many people in those days didn't have. You know, it was way back in pioneer times! My mother's father and mother had walked across the desert from Illinois. They were original pioneers; they came in the covered wagons.

Morris: That must have been an incredible experience.

Schultz: Yes, it certainly must. Mae and I talked about it. In 1933, she and I and our two husbands went back to the Chicago World's Fair. Her husband had a nice new Buick automobile in which we traveled, and as we crossed the desert--particularly from Salt Lake City east--we talked about crossing the area where our grandparents had walked every bit of the way, and some of the hardships that they experienced at that time. They almost lost all their goods and gear in the Platte River when their oxen were swimming across the river. Their wagon had not been properly prepared, apparently, for the crossing, and the things in the wagon began to float away. My grandfather, in his effort to rescue his household things and his wife, almost drowned, and others in the party rescued my grandfather.

Here is an old wives' tale that comes right out of our family history. My grandmother was pregnant at the time--that was the lot of women in those days, it seems--and she saw grandfather's hand held above the water like this [gesture], and there were just two fingers visible. As the grandparents progressed across the plains, grandmother Mathews ultimately gave birth to the baby on top of their cookstove--there was no fire in it--inside the covered wagon. The baby that was born, Charles, had only two fingers on that right hand. It must have been a tremendously indelible impression on grandmother.

Morris: It marked the baby.

Schultz: It marked the baby. But they tell us now those things can't be! And perhaps they can't.

Morris: But it does make you wonder.

Schultz: It does make you wonder. Yes, it does.

Morris: Did many of your brothers and sisters go to college? The sister who was a teacher--

Schultz: Both my older sisters, Mae and Pattie, went to what was then called normal school and got teaching credentials, and each of them taught. In fact, that's why we moved to Reno--Pattie knew there was a university there, and she wanted to prepare the way for me to go to the university. She had gone there for summer school a few times. Then after we made our home there, Pattie went on and got her degree a bit at a time, and she became one of the finest teachers in the Reno school system.

Morris: Your brothers?

Schultz: None of them went on to college after high school. In fact, I don't know whether Gene and Charles finished high school. They went to work in the mines. They were big, husky fellows.

Morris: Was that still silver?

Schultz: Well, yes, it was silver and gold in the Tonopah mines.

Morris: The Tonopah mines were worked until quite recently, weren't they?

Schultz: Yes, they were. And there were many of them; there were a great many mines in Tonopah.

Morris: It's interesting that it was the girls who decided that it was important to get an education.

Schultz: Yes. Well, what else was there for women then?

Morris: The expectation was that they would seek their own fortunes and make their own living.

Schultz: Yes. Now, Pattie never married. My sister Pattie really devoted her life to carrying on the responsibility of keeping a household for Mother and the younger children. She never married. Mae married and then was widowed and returned to the home, and she lived at home again for a number of years. She and Pattie both worked, and the boys all worked. My third sister, Zetta, was in high school. She's eight years older than I. We're very good friends and we've had lots of fun together. But there is a gap between her and me. Then there's another gap between me and my niece Genevieve, who was seven years younger than I.

Family Life

Morris: Your mother, in effect, brought up her own kids and then she raised a granddaughter too, or shared the raising of her.

Schultz: Yes, and long before we ever came into the world, she was rearing other people's children. [Laughter] Mother was just a mother from the time she was a young girl!

Morris: Relatives' children?

Schultz: Relatives' children. Brothers' children. Sisters' children, husband's family children (Father had not been married before he married Mother), and they had their own children.

There were so many nieces and nephews! Our house was always bulging with people who were being sustained and maintained by Mother and Father.

Morris: Did you always live in a house that had enough of land so that you raised your own food?

Schultz: Not always. The ranch was big and it was a fertile ranch. Father and his twin brother each had households there, and they added rooms as they added children [laughter] and both were prolific and fertile like the ranch.

Morris: That's really a nice picture.

Schultz: This ranch--Father and his twin brother did many things to make a living for their growing family. They engaged in lumber milling; they made ties for the railroad which was coming through there; they raised cattle and they raised sheep and they raised vegetables--

Morris: For market crops.

Schultz: Yes. They did a great many things. But it became--well, there were depressions then, too, and it got to be very difficult to make a living for so many mouths. My younger brother Jimmy has told me, once when we made a trip back there to the old ranch, that Father was just on the brink of doing well, of really making money in sheep, when he died. Things would have been easier for Mother after that.

They sold the ranch, and we had moved to a little town called Cedar City, Utah. We had moved there for two reasons: Pattie and my brother Charles were both in normal school; there was a normal school in Cedar City. So they were in school there. I was not yet school age. Jimmy was in school, Zetta was in school. I remember that Mae told me that Father had sent her down to Los Angeles for secretarial training and bookkeeping.

Morris: That's a long way!

Schultz: Yes, it is. What brought her back was Father's death. Then after Father's death, she was able to get this job in Tonopah, and Jack and Gene were able to get jobs there, and that's when Mother left Cedar City and moved to Tonopah.

Morris: So there were several family moves, and each time it was related to when one of the children--

Schultz: --was to be educated or his life improved, yes.

Morris: That's a very interesting pattern.

Schultz: Yes. I think that both Father and Mother were very conscious of the importance of education because Father and Uncle Phil, when they were still having a hard time making a living for their families, built a school room. Between them [laughter] they had enough children that they could have a school!

But, when they got the school, they had another responsibility. They not only had to finance the maintenance of the building, but they also had to provide maintenance for the teacher--whoever came. Those teachers who came to teach on the ranch lived there in the house, either father's or Uncle Phil's.

Morris: Did you go to one of those schools?

Schultz: No, I was too young. I remember hanging around outside yearning for them to get out for recess. [Laughter] I was too young to go to those schools. But I remember the school house, and I remember faintly some of the teachers who came to live in our home.

There's a very interesting thing that I don't remember but it pleased me to learn about my father. There was a Negro couple who had a farm below our ranch. One winter, my mother slipped on the ice and fell and broke her arm. This was long before I was born; my brother Jimmy (five years my senior) was her infant in arms at that time and was nursing. Mother was going to have to go by carriage from our ranch to the nearest town, Panaca, Nevada.

For some reason or other, Father could not take her. Maybe he had to stay with the other children or do the chores or what--I don't know. At any rate, Uncle Ike, as we called him--the Negro--drove Mother in his carriage--it was sort of a buckboard, actually--to Panaca because she had to take the small child with her. Sister Mae went along to hold brother Jimmy. They drove all the way and then stayed there. Mother was distressed that the people in Panaca did not welcome Ike into the household to sleep! They made a place for him in one of the outbuildings, and Mother was very, very distressed about this.

Schultz: This relates to the reaction of my father to one of the teachers. She was living in our household. She was a Southerner and came with the prejudices that sometimes they have. One day, Ike came to our ranch house about the dinner hour, and my father of course invited him for dinner. There were a great many guests who dropped in at our house, of all varieties--prospectors, tramps--and Mother was so good to them all! Anyway, Ike was there for dinner. This teacher came in and saw him, and she wouldn't take her place at the table because she had never eaten with what she called a "darkie." And my father said: I'm sorry, then. You'll have to have your dinner in your room.

I've been proud of him all my life to think that he valued that human being!

Morris: His neighbor.

Schultz: Yes. He wasn't prejudiced.

Morris: Would you know whether Ike and his family had owned their own farm?

Schultz: They had been slaves! I think there was a homestead law, and probably they did own it. Anyway, they settled it and they developed it.

Morris: They had gotten as far west as Nevada and established themselves.

Schultz: That's right. He was a great man, according to my brothers and sisters. They have lots of affection for Ike. Carrie and Ike--those were their names.

Morris: Did you go to a similar kind of a small ranch school when you did get old enough to go to school?

Schultz: No. You see, I came of school age while Mother was in Cedar City. I had a short kindergarten experience in Cedar City. [Laughter] One of the things I remember was coming home from kindergarten one day in the company of this little boy who threw me down and kissed me. I cried as though my heart would break, and I said: My sister wouldn't like that! [Laughter] Meaning Miss Pattie, because she was rearing me to be a lady. That was what I remember of my kindergarten experience.

We then left Cedar City after Father's death. Father died in January, and in July we went to Tonopah. I entered the first grade in Tonopah and went through from there.

School Years in Tonopah

Morris: What size of a town was Tonopah? This is when--about 1915?

Schultz: I have to think back. This was about 1910 that we went to Tonopah to live. It was never a big town. It's unlike any town--have you ever been to Tonopah?

Morris: Yes, I have.

Schultz: Then you know what it's like!

Morris: Well, I came through Tonopah about 1953, and it was a very quiet, very small town. I would imagine it looked then like the restored mining town in Columbia.

Schultz: Tonopah was neither quiet nor slow when we lived there. It was a very active mining town. They kept discovering new mines and developing new mines. The thing that strikes me now about Tonopah when I have gone back there is that it isn't laid out in an orderly fashion like towns; people just built helter-skelter!

Morris: Where they started digging a new mine.

Schultz: That's right. And the mining shafts and the dumps and everything are right in there amidst the houses!

Morris: Were there many families?

Schultz: Yes, there were many families. I recollect that Tonopah had a rather active cultural life and social life among the people who came to run the mines and so on. There was a library. I was one of its most avid users. I learned to read when I was seven--between six and seven--and I used the library extensively. There was nothing else to do in Tonopah--I mean, there really wasn't.

You couldn't ride a bicycle. There were no paved streets, there were no sidewalks; it was just rough rocks everywhere you went. You were encircled by mountains and hills. There was a great contrast between Cedar City, for instance, and the ranch, and Tonopah because on the ranch, for instance, there was abundant water. There was a creek, there were many springs, there were streams, there was verdure.

Schultz: Then we went to Tonopah, where there wasn't a spear of grass, there was no running water anywhere (all the water had to be hauled in and eventually was piped in). One of the places that I played was a water tank that was on a hill behind the house that we rented on Mt. Brower, and it had a leak in it. There was a little water that trickled down the outside of this tank and made a wet spot under the tank, and that's where I played because there was a little bit of green there and a little bit of water, a little dampness.

Morris: How did the teachers in the school there compare with your sister Mae?

Schultz: The school had good teachers in Tonopah. There were several that I remember with affection and admiration. I even encountered one on the steps of Wheeler Hall at Berkeley many years later, and I recognized her. I was there studying for a master's at the time, and I recognized Miss Sullivan, who had been my eighth grade teacher in Tonopah. I greeted her with joy and told her how much her instruction had meant to me. She had taught me how to write, she taught me [laughter] the Palmer method of penmanship--I remember those neat, tidy curlicues.

Schultz: --she taught me so many things that were important, like when is election day. [Laughter] This is the way we began every morning: When is election day? Now, think of that!

Morris: Really? After you saluted the flag?

Schultz: That's right--after we saluted the flag, we had a little space of time when we answered her questions each day, and she was impressing on us how important it was to us to be privileged to vote. And here we're her eighth graders that she started out with saying: When is election day? The first Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

Morris: Isn't that marvelous!

Schultz: Yes. I told Miss Sullivan how much I appreciated her, and I was glad I had a chance to do that. They were good teachers. There was Miss Bradley--she was another one. My brother did so well with her, and I didn't think I would ever be able to measure up to him. I finally had Miss Bradley too, and I didn't measure up to Jimmy, but I did very well [laughter] with Miss Bradley. They had good teachers there.

I remember writing a theme about a sunset in my freshman year in Tonopah. When I turned it in, the teacher asked me to see her at the desk because she didn't think I had written it. I said: Why

Schultz: do you think I haven't written it? She said: What is the color mauve? I told her what the color mauve was. She said: I didn't think you'd written it because I didn't think you would know what that color was.

This is what was true about living in a place like Tonopah: Since there wasn't anything you could do physically (except walk down through the cyanide ponds down to the sewer garden--as we called it--below town, or go exploring some of the old abandoned mining tunnels, which was dangerous, or peer over into the glory holes which were filled with debris) there was nothing for children to do! And so, reading became my life!

I exhausted the little Tonopah library, and I began to read things that were far beyond my years; the librarian began to question me about my reading material. I took out a book on Russian opera, for instance, when I was still a grammar grader. She said, "Could you really be interested in that?!" I said, "Well, I seem to have read everything else here." So, she began to order more books that she thought were appropriate for me to be reading.

Morris: Good for her!

Schultz: Yes. Oh, she was a patrician lady! She had been educated, and so was her daughter, at Mills. Her daughter had married a young lawyer by the name of Hugh Henry Brown. Her daughter had come through Tonopah when it was a rough mining town, and later wrote a book called Lady in Boomtown, which is a very interesting story about old Tonopah.

Well, her marriage to Hugh Henry Brown was one of the great social events of Tonopah. They had made a honeymoon trip to Italy, and she brought back records of some operas and classical music. She gathered some of us in her living room and played for us one of these records. This was one of the great moments of my life, hearing the Erl King, my first introduction to classical music. She told us about it, and she told us about her trip abroad and all this.

And to show you how coincidences grow out of old roots like that, one day years later, when we lived in this house here, AAUW (American Association of University Women, of which I was a member) asked if they could have a meeting here at which they would bring a very fine speaker on what women ought to know about finance. And guess who it was! It was Mrs. Hugh Henry Brown!

Morris: How did she come to know what women should know about finance?

Schultz: After they left Tonopah, they lived in San Francisco. Her husband died, and she had become interested in the stock market and had become one of the women who interested other women in buying stock and getting to know how to buy a good stock and so on. That was the way she was making her living. So I had an opportunity to tell her what a contribution she had made in my childhood by introducing me to classical music.

Morris: I should say so. Did she invite all the young people in town?

Schultz: No, not all the young people. The reason that I was included was that I had this tremendous interest in music; all of Mother's children had, and none had had much opportunity for any kind of training. There was a very fine piano teacher in Tonopah by the name of Mrs. Williams. I was doing babysitting to finance my music lessons with her. Mrs. Williams knew Mrs. Brown, and Mrs. Williams had suggested that Mrs. Brown play these records for her students. So that's how I happened to be there--I was one of Mrs. Williams's students, and I took piano lessons from her for a number of years until we left Tonopah.

Morris: Is this something you've been able to continue?

Schultz: I did. I took lessons later too, after we lived here in Mill Valley. I extended my musical education by continuing to take piano lessons, but really only for my own enjoyment; I knew that I would never, never be a professional musician.

Morris: But you were already interested in writing as a possible profession?

Schultz: I did have that expectation. I've always been interested--I think anyone who's interested in reading somehow gets to the point where they want to do it too, write, especially after I'd had some training in journalism and became a reporter.

Then I decided I would like to write some short stories and then books; that was where my intent to write really became serious. I did do some writing and submitted it; it was not accepted, and I stopped doing it.

II COLLEGE LIFE AND CAREER BEGINNINGS

University of Nevada, Class of 1924

Morris: Did you take writing courses at the University of Nevada?

Schultz: Yes, indeed I did, and even after I left.

Morris: Did you find the same kind of exciting and encouraging people at the University of Nevada?

Schultz: Yes, I did. There was a Professor A.E. Hill who was a tremendous inspiration to me. I was a reader for him; I read his papers for other classes. A.E. Hill encouraged me greatly to follow my writing bent; he liked the work that I turned in for him and told me at one point that the only thing that kept me from being brilliant was procrastination. [Laughter]

Morris: That sounds like the college student's chronic difficulty.

Schultz: Yes, it does, it does.

Morris: What kind of division was there between male students and female students, men and women, at the University of Nevada--in numbers?

Schultz: There was a School of Mines at the University of Nevada which attracted a great many men.

Morris: Was that the university's major field?

Schultz: Yes, it was. And so, there were more men than there were women at the University of Nevada. But I believe that the class of 1924, which was my graduating class, marked the largest class that had ever been graduated from the University of Nevada at that time. I think 124 students were graduated in 1924.

Morris: Was that because the population in the state was growing, or was something else happening?

Schultz: It was not a rich school, for one thing, and the distances in Nevada, and the per capita wealth of Nevada was not great, and I think it was difficult for kids to get there. I'm sure that I would never have been able to have had a university education had it not been for the foresight of my sister Pattie who moved to a university town so that I would be able to have the advantages of a--

Morris: Did it take any debate to convince your mother to move the family up there?

Schultz: No. Mother cared too; Mother was one who saw the importance.

Morris: So you continued to live at home.

Schultz: I lived at home; I never lived away from home until I left Reno and came down to Berkeley as a graduate student. My experience as a resident college student began there [Berkeley]. All the years I was at the University of Nevada, I lived at home.

Morris: You said that your class was the largest that the university had graduated. I was thinking in terms of the increase--if there were more students in your year than there had been ten years earlier.

Schultz: Oh yes, there were.

Morris: Were more people interested in college, or was the state growing in population?

Schultz: The state was growing. It was two things: The state was growing, it was becoming easier for families to maintain their youngsters there in the dormitories. There was Old Lincoln Hall and Manzanita Hall, the two dormitories. When I go back now and see how tremendous the university is now, it's like another world.

Bay Area: Teaching and Newspaper Experience

Morris: Graduate school was much less common in 1924. How did you decide to take that plunge?

Schultz: How did I happen to do that? As I told you, I was interested in journalism. I had been a student in the first journalism class that was given at the University of Nevada. In the summer, I had gone down to the coast, as we call it up there, and I had gotten a job on the old Post-Enquirer [Oakland] in the summer.

Morris: From Nevada? Did you know somebody?

Schultz: I didn't know anybody; I just went and tried to get a job.

There had been this family that I knew very well in my Tonopah days, who had gone to Alaska. Then they had returned from Alaska and were living in Berkeley. So it was a chance for me not only to renew an old friendship, but also to spend the summer down here and hopefully get a job.

Morris: And see another part of the country.

Schultz: And see another part of the country. My mother had said that was all right; in fact, it was the first time that I'd been away from home. So, I went down to Oakland and went to the old Oakland Post-Enquirer and tried to get a job. I told them that I was a student of journalism at the University of Nevada and I'd love to spend the summer writing, and they gave me a job!

Morris: I'm really flabbergasted, considering how complicated it is to get a job on a newspaper in 1976!

Schultz: That's right. But I think they hardly paid me anything, for one thing. There were a lot of little stories I could write; you know, they'd send me out on things. It was exciting to me. I was so thrilled by the whole thing that when I went back that fall, I remember writing a theme for my professor in English, A.E. Hill, about my summer's work on the newspaper. He thought it was rather fabulous too that I had been able to get a job. I don't know--I was so eager mainly, and they gave me a job. Then I went back there, you see. But nevertheless--I'm skipping here--I'd had this experience.

Schultz: So I was being graduated. I knew I had to make my living. I knew that I should have a dependable source of income. So I would complete all my teaching credentials; I would be qualified to teach in secondary school.

Morris: Why secondary school?

Schultz: It seemed that the salaries were better in high school, and I wanted to be in a larger school system. I had seen my sister Pattie live in very unpleasant conditions in the various schools to which she had gone--elementary schools where she had to teach from the first to the eighth grade and so on.

Morris: And live in somebody's home who might or might not be all that welcoming.

Schultz: That's right. She had had some miserable experiences, and I didn't want to repeat that. So I aimed to have my credentials qualify me to teach in high school.

Morris: Very practical.

Schultz: Now at that time, the University of California was offering teaching fellowships. They didn't give them to you--you had to earn them. Here's where dear A.E. Hill came in again. He said: I'm going to put your name in for one of those. I'd like to see you have some additional exposure, and it won't hurt a bit for you to have a master's degree. So, if you can afford it and if your family will let you, it will pay you a small income while you are getting your advanced degree.

[End of side A, Tape 1. Begin side B.]

Morris: The teaching fellowship sounds like something similar to work-study.

Schultz: It may be; I'm not familiar with work-study.

Morris: For bright and deserving students without very much money, it provides money for them to be hired, preferably in a field related to their careers.

Schultz: Then it is practically identical because the teaching fellowship which I was awarded on the basis of my scholastic record and my potential, allowed me to teach English at the University of California, for which I received sixty dollars a month.

Morris: Were you teaching undergraduates?

Schultz: I was teaching undergraduates, yes--Subject A, as a matter of fact. Also, we teaching fellows that were doing that, supplemented our income by correcting Subject A examinations for all the junior colleges and high schools. So we had this work come in throughout the year. Each one of us was allocated a certain number of these blue books to correct, and I can swear that it is not true that we just threw them up to the ceiling and those that stuck were pass and those that fell were fail. [Laughter] We laboriously corrected those themes.

Morris: Did you have contact with the teachers in the high schools and the junior colleges?

Schultz: No. The papers just arrived from those places and they were distributed to us by people in the English Department at UC Berkeley.

Morris: Were you in the School of Education?

Schultz: No, I was not. I was studying for a master's degree in English, and I was in Letters and Science.

Morris: Then what was the process by which you got the teaching credential?

Schultz: I already had my teaching credential for secondary from the University of Nevada. But what I was doing at UC was studying for a master's degree in English. It happens that California does require a fifth year of--I think it covers California history and things of that sort--for you to be credentialed in California. It didn't require that in Nevada; I could have gone out and gotten a job straight from commencement, in a high school, because I had my credentials. I had had all the education courses and had had practice teaching; I had done my practice teaching in the Reno high school.

Morris: So that you got a teaching credential just in four years, but you did get practice teaching as part of that four years?

Schultz: As part of that, that's right.

Hopes, Friendships, and Marriage

Morris: Tell me about meeting Ray Schultz.

Schultz: Oh yes. Well, it was in my second year at the University of Nevada, and I had been inducted into the Gamma Phi Beta sorority. One night, there was a college dance that the fraternities and sororities were putting on. It wasn't in the gym. It was downtown on the corner of Virginia and Second Street. There was a ballroom upstairs above the stores there.

On the corner of Virginia and Second Street, I met a sorority sister of mine with this handsome man. [Laughter] It turned out to be Ray. I was with a fraternity brother of his!

Morris: Isn't that nice!

Schultz: Yes, an old beau of mine from Tonopah who was a Phi Sig, and Ray was a Phi Sig. It happened that Ray had come up to the University of Nevada from the University of California for two reasons. One was that he had heard that you could get your credits a lot easier in Nevada than at UC Berkeley.

Morris: He's California-born and raised?

Schultz: No, he's not; he's from Nebraska. But he was educating himself also while working. He was working in a laboratory for one of the oil companies where he tested the viscosity of oil and things of that sort in their laboratories up on the river at Oleum, and then he commuted back and forth from Oleum to Berkeley for his classes. He had heard that the University of Nevada was a smaller school and you got a lot more contact with your professors and so on.

And you did! Also, living costs were lower. So he had come to Nevada to enroll in the University of Nevada, and he lived in the Phi Sig fraternity house.

Morris: Were jobs easy to get for students?

Schultz: I always worked. I had a job in the theater; I was an usher in one of Reno's theaters. Then finally I was promoted to being a cashier, selling tickets. So I had those jobs.

Schultz: Ray got various kinds of jobs. I remember my brothers used to be helpful to him in turning jobs his way. We both worked our way through school, actually.

Morris: I guess what strikes me is the thought of going to a college dance nowadays in downtown Reno. What was downtown Reno like then?

Schultz: It wasn't as garish and ugly and awful as it is now in downtown Reno. Reno was a beautiful little city. It was re-created for readers now in the City of Trembling Leaves written by the son of the man who was the president of the University of Nevada when I was there, Walter Clark.

Morris: Did you have a chance to know the president of the University in a school that size?

Schultz: Yes, you did.

Morris: How did he make himself known?

Schultz: Well, he was a man who was accessible to the students. As I look back on my college experience in a small college, I realize that one of the great advantages to us was the accessibility of the professors and the college president and his wife and family to us. I'm sure that many of my ideals had their beginning in the kind of people we had as professors.

Morris: Were there any women on the faculty?

Schultz: Yes, there were a few. There was Miss Riegelhuth, I remember, who taught German and one who taught history. There were not many women on the faculty.

Morris: What kinds of ambitions did your sorority sisters have? What kind of interests in life?

Schultz: As I look back then, I realize that almost every woman, every young woman on the campus, expected to marry and to be a homemaker. There were a few of us in that class in journalism who had the dream of getting out into the world and getting on a newspaper and staying there. We had that ambition. There were several of us who achieved it.

Schultz: Chris Sheerin was the boyfriend who was with me on the corner of Second and Virginia when I met Ray. I'd known him in Tonopah. He went on from that journalism class to own the Elko Free Press and was the editor and publisher of that paper for years.

When we went back for our golden reunion, our fiftieth reunion--

Morris: That's quite an accomplishment in itself!

Schultz: That is. Only ten of us made it--he was there. Another person who was there was Nevada Semenza Christian, who had been my bosom friend all through college and even through high school in Reno. She had had extensive newspaper experience. She and her husband had both worked on newspapers in China and had owned and published newspapers in various cities in California. So we had that continuing interest from our college days, this interest in journalism.

Then I had come down here and gotten this job on the Enquirer. I kept my contacts with that newspaper during the two years I was studying for a master's degree. It turned out that a job opened up on that paper in August of 1926, just when my work at the University was terminating and Ray was in business in San Francisco and we were going to be married. I recognized that there was a kind of problem for me. Here I wanted to be a newspaper person--I preferred it to teaching--and was I ever going to do it? I went back down to the paper once again to check the action, see if there was any possibility, and, by golly, there was.

Social and Political Attitudes in the 1920s

Schultz: So, in one week's time, I got married and went to work on the paper. In those days, the paper had a prohibition against married women.

Morris: Oh, dear. So what did you do about that?

Schultz: [Laughter] So I lived in sin. I just kept it quiet. And I had some embarrassing times as a result of it.

Morris: I can believe it.

Schultz: But I compromised my honesty by not ever telling them that I was married.

Morris: Were your expectations also that you would have a family?

Schultz: I didn't hope for a family immediately. But certainly I expected that in due time I would have a family because there was no escape-- there was no pill then!

Morris: That would get kind of awkward too, while working for an organization that said: No married women.

Schultz: Oh yes, yes. But it didn't. [Laughter]

Morris: In those days, I understand that there were some women who were so disappointed by the failure of America to join the League of Nations and that general climate of opinion that they made a personal commitment not to have any children, because they didn't want to bring the children into this kind of a world. Did you run into any of that amongst your friends?

Schultz: I didn't. I wrote a thesis on the League of Nations.

Morris: At Berkeley?

Schultz: No, at the University of Nevada in 1924. That was the subject of a paper that I wrote. It was a contest, actually, and there was a scholarship attached. I chose to write about the League of Nations. I'm sure one of the reasons that I was interested in the League of Nations was that my sister Pattie was one of the great enthusiasts for this hope of the world. She was a great and staunch admirer of Wilson (who, incidentally, came to Reno in his re-election campaign and we got to see him). She ignited my interest in and concern for the League of Nations. So I chose this subject for my paper.

I didn't win that contest, and I didn't regret not winning it because, in the meantime, this opportunity to come to Berkeley on this fellowship had come up. So, while it was a disappointment, another door had opened.

But I didn't happen to encounter women who were deliberately making a choice of remaining childless rather than to bring children into a warring world. I did encounter women, however, who were promoting the idea of free love. There was a great resurgence of it in Nevada on the campus. There was lots of interest in this liberating philosophy that you didn't necessarily have to seek out one person and get married to that person and shut out all the rest of the world.

Schultz: It ran counter to my sense of ethics and even to my personal predilections because, well, Ray and I have been married fifty years this year [laughter], so you can see I'm one of those one-man women.

Morris: Were there many practitioners of free love at the University of Nevada then?

Schultz: Nothing comparable to what has arisen in recent years. It was more of a philosophical encounter with a theory about life that certainly ran in the face of tradition.

Morris: And the general standards of the day.

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: How about political activity or interests amongst the students at Nevada?

Schultz: There was very little. I remember being curious that adults--older people--paid so much attention to what college students thought because, as I knew college students, what we thought didn't amount to much.

Morris: In your view.

Schultz: In my view, yes. What were we interested in? Yes, we really were interested in doing well scholastically. We wanted to do well in our classes. We were interested in learning the subject matter. From that point of view, we were respect-worthy. But when it came to selecting a career, for instance, there were very few careers--very few--that were open to women. There was teaching; that was just about it. Then, for those of us who had had this great awakening in journalism, there might possibly be a career in journalism.

My friends, for instance, that I knew at the University, most of them went into teaching. They didn't go into medicine, they didn't go into science--it was teaching and marriage in those days.

Morris: Did you find it a similar situation at Berkeley?

Schultz: No, no. There were a great many women at Berkeley who, it seemed to me, had wider horizons than we had had at Nevada. Also at Berkeley, there was a great deal higher level of culture among the professors and certainly in the programs that the University brought to the students.

Morris: Did you have time to participate in some of those?

Schultz: Yes, I did, although I worked very hard. I was teaching a full load of classes and carrying a full load of units in my own work. And yet, there was time to go to the various things that were offered at Wheeler Hall and elsewhere.

Morris: Did you find any people that you particularly liked, aside from Ray, who came with you, I take it?

Schultz: [Laughter] Yes, there were many. There was a young man who was actually a student of mine in the Subject A class who was a very adventuresome individual. His name was Jack Thornburg. He was embarking on a career of construction while he was in school. While he was a student, he was building houses. We bought one from him, as a matter of fact; the first house that we owned in Berkeley was one that Jack Thornburg had designed and built. He was one of my students! Isn't that interesting?

Morris: It really is. That's a remarkable kind of energy and direction.

Schultz: Yes, and original! Original! He was sort of a Frank Lloyd Wright person; I mean, he just goes out and does it. His designs for buildings were different; they were not the run-of-the-mill at all.

Morris: Was he in the School of Architecture?

Schultz: No, he was not. He was a man that was a manager. He knew how to manage his time, how to put a project together and get it done, and so on.

Morris: Was he older than the--?

Schultz: Yes, he was older than most of the students. I don't remember how old. He was married, too, and had a young child. He wrote a theme which I was correcting, and I got angry at it because I thought he was pulling my leg. It was supposed to be a factual thing, and he was telling about his wife and child and things, and I thought he was having some fun. So I called him into my office to talk with him about taking his work more seriously [laughter], and it turns out he is married, he does have a child, he is building things. Our friendship dated from then; I retracted what I had written on his theme.

At that time, most students weren't married and they weren't established in families.

Reporter for the Oakland Post-Enquirer

Morris: When you went back to work for the Post-Enquirer as a full-time reporter, were there any other women on the staff as reporters or editors?

Schultz: Yes, there were. There was Hazel Livingston, who was writing serials for Hearst papers.

Morris: These are the Saturday supplement kinds of things?

Schultz: I guess they were, yes.

Morris: Was the Post-Enquirer a Hearst paper?

Schultz: Yes, the Post-Enquirer was a Hearst paper, and Hazel's serials were published in other Hearst papers. Hazel was on the staff. Then there was Bettina Angelo--I guess there were just three of us--and then there was me. I was the club editor and then became Aunt Elsie.

Morris: Was that the advice to the lovelorn?

Schultz: It was Elsie Robinson, who did write advice to the lovelorn, and her column ("Tell It To Elsie") went with her to a San Francisco paper. But this children's page which she had started, called "Aunt Elsie," stayed with the Oakland Post-Enquirer. First Hazel Livingston had it and then I got it. I was the apostolic successor to Elsie Robinson. [Laughter]

Morris: Were Hazel's serials fiction?

Schultz: Yes, they were. Love stories, like today's soap operas.

Morris: That's an interesting kind of American letters that's disappeared--the serial fiction in the press.

Schultz: Yes, that's true.

Morris: Did you have any feeling that they were giving you different kinds of assignments or pay scales or anything like that because you were a woman? Were you aware of any differences?

Schultz: I was so glad to have a job on the paper, I think I would have paid them! I wasn't aware of being underpaid, and I don't think I was underpaid, as values went then. I didn't ever think of what I

Schultz: received in comparison to what the men reporters got. I was not dissatisfied with what I was paid, and I was making more than Ray was, who was in the business realm. So, it didn't seem to me that I was being exploited.

Morris: Did you do anything with clubs, with women's clubs?

Schultz: You see, that was my function, and this is where I really got interested in the League of Women Voters. My function was to cover the activities of the Federation of Women's Clubs, all those that were members of it; of the Parent-Teacher Associations; of the League of Women Voters--of all women's organizations. What they were doing, why they were doing it, and so on. It was a very busy and interesting life because I covered all these meetings and programs and conventions. When the NEA came to Oakland, I covered that convention. I remember Pattie came down to visit me, and I was so happy to be able to make it possible for her to go to the NEA convention because she was so interested in it and it meant a lot to her. So my function was to cover the activities of women's organizations.

There was one women's organization which I thought was doing a superlative job of getting women prepared to be good citizens--good citizens in the way that they knew what they were doing and what they were talking about and for whom they were voting and what the content of ballot measures was and what the meaning of bills was. That was the League of Women Voters.

I'm sure it is known to you that the women of California had the vote eleven years before the women of the nation had it. And there was a vigorous chapter of the League in the East Bay.

Morris: I'm familiar with the San Francisco Center, which seems to go back, I guess, to the passage of the California legislation. But the East Bay organization--?

Schultz: The East Bay had some tremendous women leaders over there.

Morris: Who do you remember as the leaders that you quoted in your stories?

Schultz: I'm sorry to say that I can't call up their names now. The women that I remember vividly are women with whom I worked in the League years later, like Kate Nachtrieb and Isabel Smith and Hazeltine Taylor (who was on the faculty at Berkeley)--those are the women that I remember, and I don't remember the names of those who were making news when I was reporting it!

Morris: Those three you mentioned are Berkeley ladies. Was there a separate Oakland League?

Schultz: There was an Oakland League, as I remember, and I know there was a Berkeley League of Women Voters, yes.

Morris: How much space did the Post-Enquirer give you for your stories?

Schultz: I had a daily column in which I covered all women's activities. Then I had the Saturday children's page. And then, of course, I was always urging them to send me out on regular straight news, which they did whenever an opportunity came along.

I remember still the first murder story they sent me on. It was a young boy of fourteen who had shot and killed his stepfather because he was abusing his mother. That was my first murder story.

Morris: You went to the scene of the crime or the court?

Schultz: Went to the scene of the crime and talked to neighbors and tried to talk with the mother and had a photographer along (they always send a photographer with you).

I remember the dichotomy that I experienced that day: I felt so sorry for that mother, and it seemed so inappropriate for me to be asking her these probing questions. And yet I had to get the story. I was revolted by the inappropriateness of my intruding and yet I had an assignment to do and I had to do it. If I didn't do it, I surely wouldn't be sent again!

Morris: Were you expected to write a story like that in what's generally referred to as the sob sister fashion?

Schultz: No--straight news. And I remember that I used something from a book I had read many, many years prior--Lord, I ain't nothin' but a boy, but I gotta act like a man--about the boy who had done this.

Morris: That's quite an experience. Did Mr. Hearst exert great influence on the individual local papers?

Schultz: Yes, he did. He came from time to time to visit them, and I remember the excitement in the office when they knew that he was coming. One of my early [laughter] mistakes was because I didn't know enough about him!

Schultz: One of the things that I was told to do from time to time was to review motion pictures. Of course, this was pleasant; you always had a pass and you went and reviewed the show and got what you said published. I went to review The Red Mill, which had Marion Davies in it. I was so innocent I didn't know [laughter] that Marion Davies was Hearst's lady friend. And I wrote a derogatory review. [Laughter] So I learned very soon.

Morris: They didn't print that review, I take it.

Schultz: No, they didn't; they certainly didn't. I remember what fun the men got out of it; they really laughed. I was just an innocent.

Morris: How did the paper do in relation to other papers in town? At that time, there were three or four Oakland papers, weren't there?

Schultz: There were three. There was the Oakland Tribune, and then there was one called the Times. There was a woman working on the Times that I liked very much. We were good friends. We often encountered each other on different stories. (I can't think of her name now.) And there was a woman on the Tribune that I was very good friends with, and our friendship lasted for a long time. Her name was Marie Onions.

It was her position that I took on the Post-Enquirer--I think she was going to England at that time. We had met and were friends, and I felt I had such a piece of good luck in that she let me know that she was leaving. So I was there. Then because of my prior work with the paper, they considered me and gave me her job. A couple of years later, Marie came back and went to work on the Tribune as Marie Onions, and we used to cover things together then too.

Morris: She came back as the woman's page person for the Tribune. They had had one before?

Schultz: Yes, they had had one before.

Morris: Did you have any chance to observe Mr. Knowland?

Schultz: No, I did not. Not at that time. Later, when I went to Sacramento and Bill Knowland was called the Senator from Formosa [laughter], I got to know his way of thinking quite well. Of course, his father was the one who was running the paper.

Morris: I was going to ask if J.R. was still--

Schultz: Yes, he was.

Morris: In fact, the Knowlands had only bought the Tribune fairly recently at that point, hadn't they?

Schultz: I believe so, yes. I think maybe that's why there was a revolution of employees and that Marie went to work there. They were going through a reorganization.

Morris: I have also heard a report that Joseph Knowland bought the Tribune so it would further the family political careers. Is this the way the rest of the newspapers in town felt about it?

Schultz: Yes, I remember hearing conversations to that effect.

Morris: Was the Post-Enquirer active in political endorsements or political coverage or that kind of thing?

Schultz: Yes, it was active in political coverage.

Morris: Did you get to do any of that?

Schultz: No, I did not. No, that was an alien field to me.

Covering Women's Political Activities

Morris: But women's political activities did make an impression on you?

Schultz: Yes, they did. I was more exposed to those. It was at that time that I got to know very well the wife of a man who had been Ray's professor at Cal in the College of Commerce--Henry Francis Grady.

Morris: Oh! Indeed.

Schultz: Yes. In my reporting of club news and club activities, I got to know Lucretia Grady. We became very good friends and maintained that friendship over many, many years. In fact, Lucretia was interested in my campaign when I was running over here, as late as 1964 when I ran for the senate.

Morris: Was she active in politics?

Schultz: Oh, was she active in politics! I should say she was--very much so!

Morris: How did you get from just covering a meeting that she was at, to a personal friendship with her?

Schultz: Well, I think it was some feature stories that I wrote. I remember being assigned one Mother's Day to write a feature story and to pick out a mother. I picked her. I took the photographer out there with me and we took pictures of Lucretia and her young children. I wrote a very understanding and sympathetic feature story about her activities as a mother, about what she was contributing to her children as a mother, notwithstanding the intensity of her concerns outside the home--and she was very, very active politically. You probably know that she was national committeewoman for years and years. Her husband was ambassador to India and various other parts of the world. We were guests in their home from time to time due to the fact that we had become good friends aside from some newspaper contacts.

Morris: What kind of a relationship and contacts did she have with her children? They were young, and she was already very active in politics.

Schultz: I remember her saying to me (and at that time I was childless): Bobbie, always consider that giving your husband babies is the first requirement of a good wife. [Laughter] And she did give him four or five--four, I think.

Morris: Doesn't she come from an old Spanish family? She was a Del Valle.

Schultz: Yes, she did come from a Spanish background.

Morris: Did she ever tell you how she became interested in politics?

Schultz: I don't remember that she told me specifically how, except that she was a woman of very wide acquaintance, and she couldn't have helped being interested in politics because through her husband she was exposed to the people who were active politically. She was the kind of person who would naturally make the most of that opportunity.

Morris: Was it Democratic politics that she was--?

Schultz: Yes! Democratic politics for her and for him.

Democrats and Cross-filing

Morris: Before Mr. Roosevelt's election, there weren't many Democrats in California, were there?

Schultz: No. We were the minority certainly.

Morris: You say "we were."

Schultz: I mean the Democrats were. I've always been a Democrat. [Laughter] I got it with my mother's milk. They were always Democrats.

Morris: That's interesting. Why?

Schultz: Well, I guess because it is the party of the people, corny as that sounds. But there was more concern for human beings expressed by the Democrats. It was not the party of privilege; it was the party of the people.

Morris: Even more so than that Progressive group that many of the Republicans had developed?

Schultz: There's been more enlightenment in recent years, but certainly the old GOP was a very conservative organization that really looked down on the under-educated, the under-employed, and didn't think it was their responsibility to do anything to better their situation in life.

Morris: I was thinking of what appeared for a while as the Progressive party. William Kent, Roger Kent's father, was very involved with the Progressives. They started as Republicans, and then this group--

Schultz: That's right. They called themselves the Progressive party, and it was Hiram Johnson. They did revolutionize a lot of the old concepts of government and made changes in our state government--that was the referendum, the recall, and the initiative--they were the ones who put that into the state constitution. They were reformers and did a lot of fine things for better government and for a more responsive government.

Here in Marin, for instance, a Democrat--Clarence Lea--had been our First Congressional District representative in Congress for thirty-two years without change! Did you know that? Where it touches my political career was that Clarence Lea, in 1948 I think it was, notified the voters that he was going to retire. It was at that time

- Schultz: that Roger Kent, the son of William Kent, decided that he would run for the office. But we were in a Republican stronghold. I don't know whether you want to go into that, but at any rate, there were two Democratic candidates and one Republican candidate to succeed Clarence Lea. At that time we had cross-filing, and we all cross-filed. Roger Kent, son of William, got more votes than the other two candidates. But he still didn't get his own party's nomination and was out.
- Morris: That frustrating experience probably all by itself was enough to finally eliminate cross-filing, wasn't it?
- Schultz: Well, we worked harder to repeal it after that, we really did. The League worked tremendously hard to repeal that cross-filing thing. That opened the eyes of a great many people in Marin, for instance, to how stupid that law is, actually, and how impotent it makes the parties.
- Morris: When you became acquainted with people like Lucretia Grady and some of the other leaders in East Bay women's activities, did this begin to make you think that you might like to become active yourself in politics at some point?
- Schultz: At that time I didn't have an ambition ever to be a candidate. It never occurred to me at that time that I would ever be a candidate. But I was tremendously interested in those who were candidates. I was well founded in the League in its nonpartisan approach to political action; that is, that you inform yourself, you find out about it, and you know all there is to know. But you don't take a position until you are informed.

[End Tape 1]

III MARIN COUNTY, 1928-1940

[Interview 2: 9 March 1976]

[Begin Tape 2, side A]

Home-Building in Mill Valley

Morris: The interview you did with the Mill Valley Historical Society gives a fine description of the town when you first lived here.* I'd like to pick up with a couple of questions from last week and then ask you a bit about the actual campaigning and politics in Marin. As we came to the end of the tape last week, I was just about to ask you how you convinced Mr. Schultz to come over to Marin County when you decided that you wanted to do some serious writing for a while?

Schultz: It didn't take very much persuasion to persuade Ray to come to Mill Valley because we both liked it very much. We had hiked here while we were students at Berkeley and loved the mountain. So when I said: Why don't we rent a place over there for a couple of months?, he thought it was just as easy to commute from this side of the Bay as from the Berkeley side. And so, he was quite willing.

Morris: He was working in San Francisco?

Schultz: He was working in San Francisco anyway, so it meant commuting wherever he lived. He didn't mind the Marin commute, and in fact found it very pleasant because at that time we had a ferry ride and

*See transcript of this interview in The Bancroft Library.

Schultz: and a train ride. Both were pleasant and relaxing and you made friends on the ferry and played cards. It was a very pleasant exchange among the men in those days, every morning and every evening.

Morris: They had kind of a social life on the commute.

Schultz: Yes, there was a very active social life on the ferries, and there is today, even on the small ones that are running from Tiburon and Sausalito. A friend of mine who is now campaigning, has a worker in her campaign who brings her golden globules of information from the ferry. [Laughter]

Morris: You can gather useful information for political campaigns?

Schultz: Yes, indeed you can. Lots of campaigning is done on the ferry.

Morris: And recruiting of campaign workers?

Schultz: That's right, and selling your candidate and getting a contribution, and all kinds of things.

Morris: When you decide to settle down over here, I gather that you built a number of houses--first the one that you lived in, and then you built several others.

Schultz: Yes, we did. We first built Holly Bush House, originally intended as a weekend place for ourselves, and it was a small and simple place. Then we continued to live there. Probably the thing that made it impossible for us to leave Mill Valley at that time was that we didn't finish that house as readily as we thought we were going to.

We thought we could put it up in a couple of weeks, and it took several months. My leave expired and the house was incomplete, and we had to do something about it. Nick, our contractor, had to leave; he had come on a temporary basis too. The house still had so much in it that needed to be done because we had expanded it from one room to five. So, we made a decision.

My sister Zetta had a summer resort at Lake Tahoe, and her husband was in the contracting business. They had time in the winters for other things. This was in September that we had to make this decision about either going back to Berkeley or finishing the house. We brought Fred Starbuck, my sister's husband, to Mill Valley, and he finished the house for us.

Schultz: In the meantime--as I told you, I lived next door to the school nurse, and she told me they needed some help down at the Old Mill School. So, although this wasn't anything like being on the newspaper, it was something to do, and there was still work to do in the house and the garden and that sort of thing. So, we stayed, and we never left.

Morris: When you continued building houses, was this as an investment kind of a thing?

Schultz: Yes. The second house that we built was built speculatively. That was in the Depression, and I think I mentioned it was the first house built in Mill Valley after the Depression. Ray and I had a little margin of savings. There was this tract of lots at the rear of our Ethel Avenue lot that was wild. I proposed that we buy those lots--there were four--and that we build a house on them. We could create employment, and then we would make a little money, we hoped, on our investment.

My husband is a very practical person and very diligent. He looked into the matter and decided that this was a good thing to do. We bought the property. It was divided into four fifty-foot lots, and it's steep. We didn't like that, and so we re-subdivided it and made three larger lots, much nicer building sites, out of those three.

We thought we would try a two-story Swiss chalet-type architecture. We hired a draftsman. We didn't hire an architect--I learned about architects much later in life--we had so many ideas of our own. I would not now start building anything without an architect, but we did then.

So, we designed a house and then got a draftsman to put it on paper for us. Then my husband and Fred Starbuck embarked on the building of the second house. Fred was a very capable contractor and was a fast worker and efficient, which pleased my husband. Between the two of them--they subcontracted different things--we built a very attractive house there. But when it was finished, we were still in a down economy; and although many people looked at the house, no one had the money to buy it, apparently.

Then a young couple came along one day when I was up in the Tall House (we called it, because it was a two-story with a steep roof). I was in the Tall House finishing the floors. I was young and vigorous in those days and loved to work, just really enjoyed it. So I was working hard on the floors in the living room, and

Schultz: this young couple came and asked to go through the house. I welcomed them and thought here was a prospect. As it turned out, they were very much interested in the house, but they just didn't have the wherewithal to pay the price for it. And so, to make a long story short, though we had no intention of ever moving out of Holly Bush House at that time, they suggested that they buy Holly Bush House and we move into the Tall House.

So we considered it and that's what we did--we sold them Holly Bush House and we moved into the Tall House. They were very nice folks; we had a long, pleasant association.

We weren't there very long until it did sell. We had not started the third house at the time we sold the Tall House. There was kind of an urgency about getting another house built. We cleared the lot and Fred, my brother-in-law, was still interested in building the third house. So, we started on the house; the time expired for surrendering the Tall House to the new owners, and we were without a place to live. [Laughter] That is the time when my sister and her family and Ray and I shared a little house on Hueter Lane. Hueter Lane is so different today you'd never recognize it. It was such a tranquil, pleasant country place at that time. There was a house there; it was a summer house like so many of them were in Mill Valley. The only place for Ray and me to sleep was on an open porch. It was a sleeping porch, as many of the houses were built then. That's where we slept.

It really is roughing it, after you've lived in a house and had the comforts of central heating and so on, it's pretty hard to go back to a single wall summer house. But anyway, we enjoyed it. Gradually the third house was finished, and we moved in.

Then, we had that other vacant lot, so naturally we built another house.

Morris: Did you and your husband spend some time studying architecture or plans and things like that?

Schultz: We didn't study architecture as such, but we studied architecture as it is expressed in the enclosure of space. I used to just accumulate house plans. We both were interested in how a place adapts itself to living.

Morris: Did you have any awareness or contacts with Frank Lloyd Wright's ideas in those years?

Schultz: Only what I encountered in the pages of House Beautiful. But they appealed to me even then. You'll be interested to know that in the first house that we built, in Holly Bush House, we used his corner window invention. In the third house that we built--it was a California ranch house style--we used corner windows, which do have a nice way of opening up a room.

School Politics

Morris: Then, when you went to work in the schools, you got involved in a number of things. I guess about the time you were finishing your third or fourth house, you were supporting a candidate for county board of education.

Schultz: Actually, we came to know George Kendall when we still lived in Holly Bush House. It's hard for me to remember the years, it's so far back.

Morris: The vitae that I've put together from the various articles about you said you were in the school office from 1928 to 1935. Does that sound about right?

Schultz: Yes, it does, because I went to work there while we were still working on Holly Bush House. It would have been 1929, actually, that I went to work at the school.

Morris: And you knew George Kendall as a neighbor and friend?

Schultz: No. I simply met him because he was a candidate, and I was impressed with him as a candidate; I didn't know him as a friend before I knew him as a candidate. But I did become active then to see that he was elected.

Morris: I gathered that there was a connection between your supporting him for superintendent and then getting dismissed from your job in the schools.

Schultz: [Laughter] Yes, there was a connection. I was working in the office of the superintendent. This was the second superintendent under whom I had worked, in the Mill Valley school system. His wife was very active in the Parent-Teacher Association and became very good friends with the principal of one of the schools in the Mill Valley system. At that time, Edna McGuire--that was the name of the principal--also decided to seek election as superintendent of education for the county.

Schultz: This was where my espousal of Kendall's candidacy ran into opposition in the office because, naturally, the superintendent and his wife were interested in the candidacy of Edna McGuire. Normally, so would I have been, but actually I got interested in Kendall's campaign prior to the time that Miss McGuire filed. So I was then committed, and I really believed that he would be a very good superintendent. I feel that he was.

Morris: Wasn't there at that point a regulation that public employees were not supposed to be involved in political activity?

Schultz: In the federal field this is true; federal employees were "Hatched." [Laughter] But it didn't seem to extend to local affairs. So I didn't think I was doing anything that I shouldn't do in becoming active in the campaign of the man running for superintendent. I've certainly been active in other campaigns since then for school superintendent--Wally Hall and Virgil Hollis and others.

It just happened, you see, that there was this friendship within that office. The superintendent, Roy Huffman--he and I were very good friends and remained so. There were no hard feelings and there was no pain, other than the fact that I know my dismissal really began with this political campaign.

Morris: That's interesting that you remained on speaking terms with him.

Schultz: Oh, we were very good friends! As a matter of fact, in many of my subsequent campaigns, both Roy Huffman and his wife, Alice, were very active workers on my behalf.

They moved to Novato later--that is, after he left the Mill Valley school system--and when I was campaigning for the senate, they helped in my campaign.

League of Women Voters

Morris: Good for them. Were you already active as a member of the Marin League of Women Voters by this time?

Schultz: Yes. I became active in the League of Women Voters as soon as I came to Marin. This interest in the League of Women Voters I transferred from Oakland. I had such respect for it there and also knew the San Francisco Center of the League of Women Voters.

Schultz: So I sought out the League in Marin. Some of my best friends have been League women throughout my life; I've found such compatible women in the League of Women Voters.

Morris: You said "sought out." Was it hard to find?

Schultz: No, it wasn't hard to find. It was a county League, and the women in it were active.

When I first came to Mill Valley, being interested in newspaper work, I went down and met the two women who ran the Mill Valley Record--I believe they were related by marriage; they were both named Douglas, but one was a sister-in-law. So, from time to time they asked me to write stories for the paper, to cover something, and so I did. Then subsequently, the new owners--the Drexlers who bought it from the Douglasses--also asked me to write for the paper, on a space basis. In covering affairs, I naturally covered the League of Women Voters, too. They were very busy inquiring into county affairs at that time.

Morris: Who were the stalwarts of the Marin League then, when you came into it?

Schultz: Iris Engels was one of the real lights in the League of Women Voters and in the Outdoor Art Club too. Her husband was on the City Council--George Engels. Another person at that time who was very active was Cora Bjornstrom; she still lives here in Mill Valley. Another was Fern Andrews; her husband, Wally, was a mathematics professor at Tam High. They were among the leaders, particularly Iris, because Iris went on to become a member of the national board of the League of Women Voters.

Morris: If it was the county-wide organization, then, how did they come to do a study of Mill Valley local government?

Schultz: Well, because there were enough women in Mill Valley interested in a Know Your Town study. We did one in Sausalito too.

Morris: About the same time?

Schultz: Later than Mill Valley. The League nationally was urging women to know their town and know their county. They got out guidance material on how to know your town, how to know your county, and so on.

Morris: Nowadays a Know Your Town study is the sort of thing you do before you start a local League in a particular community.

Schultz: I know it's quite different now. I remember when the Mill Valley members of the Marin County League had to consider this new policy of the League of Women Voters about concentrating on a community, a cohesive community, because the trend was to have Leagues that could work effectively in their home base.

County Poor Farm Study and Establishing a Health Department

Schultz: We'd been working on a county-wide level, and there had been this study of what we call the County Farm--

Morris: Was this the Poor Farm?

Schultz: The Poor Farm--by the League of Women Voters. That was one of the first jobs that the county League did that I knew about. I found it extremely interesting and also effective.

Morris: Tell me about that.

Schultz: The League at that time drew its membership from all over the county, and they met in the town hall in San Anselmo.

Morris: Is that a central point?

Schultz: It's rather central--although we had one member who used to come down to our meetings from Guerneville! At any rate, I remember going to a meeting in that little city hall in San Anselmo at which Merle Tharp--that's another leader in the League from those days. She subsequently became one of the first women members on the County Planning Commission.

Merle Tharp, whose home is in Novato, was one of the panel that made the investigation and wrote the report on conditions at the County Farm. They went out there and really investigated, and they found many situations that were in need of correction. The report was so impressive to me--

Morris: Where was the farm located?

Schultz: Out in Lucas Valley, which is now where the juvenile hall is. The juvenile hall and the children's treatment center. The great big building that used to be the County Farm, as we called it, and was the hospital and home, is now used by the courts for hearing cases out there.

Morris: The building is still in use, then?

Schultz: This building is still in use.

Morris: And the League study made a number of recommendations?

Schultz: It made a great many recommendations which, over the years, were carried out. Certainly, when I finally was on the Board of Supervisors, it became the custom of the board to meet out there regularly in order to keep tabs on conditions at the County Farm. It was no longer just ignored.

Morris: How had the League come to make a study of the County Farm?

Schultz: I don't know. I was not sufficiently active in the League at that time, and furthermore, my interest was in foreign policy. [Laughter] I was looking far afield. But it was that study of the County Farm that began to draw my attention back from foreign policy to look in my own backyard.

Morris: And the League at that point did not do any international studies?

Schultz: Well we did, now! We really did do international studies and we were very much interested in the nation's economy and the world economy and world trade.

Morris: The United Nations a few years later.

Schultz: That's right. The UN has been one of our babies. So, we did have all these other interests pulling our attention and our limited membership [laughter] in many directions. In fact, when I first joined the League and accepted an assignment, a responsibility, it was in the field of foreign policy.

Morris: Good. Do you happen to recall what it was?

Schultz: Yes, I recall what it was. I can remember getting awfully excited about "hot money" at that time [laughter] and the international gold situation and that sort of thing.

Morris: But you soon got involved in the local studies.

Schultz: Yes. It was largely, to be honest with you, because of Iris Engels that I began to be more concerned with the local scene. She told me so many things about conditions in the county that were the result of the backwardness on the part of county government in availing

Schultz: itself of both federal and state funds that would have come to the county had there been a place for them to go. What she said came from our study of our Poor Farm and related to the fact that our county did not have a public health department.

At one time, the county had all its schools closed by an epidemic of communicable children's diseases. At that time, we didn't have a hospital in this county, and all the children had to go by ferry to San Francisco for hospitalization. And yet here we were in the twentieth century. That was when Iris urged me to go with her to visit other counties in the state that had public health departments and find out how they operated and what they did and compare them with ours.

She could drive; I could not drive in those days. She had a car and could drive. She had no children; neither did I; we were both unencumbered. So, I went with Iris and we cruised up and down California visiting health departments.

Morris: How many did you find?

Schultz: We found a lot! We started right over there in San Mateo County, and then we went on down to Monterey County. I can't remember all of the places that we went, but we went way down south, too, and compiled a record of all the information that we gained. As a reporter, I was the one that compiled it after we had gathered the information.

Morris: I bet you were in demand for that.

Schultz: Well, there's always somebody needed to put it down, you know. So, when we came back from this tour where we had gathered all this information about health departments and how they are run and the services they perform for people, we renewed the appeal to the Board of Supervisors, which we had been making at every budget session for many years, that they consider creating a health department.

We finally had a big public meeting in the city hall in San Rafael, at which we begged and threatened the medical association to be present; we insisted that the doctors come. We felt that this was something that was their responsibility. We were laymen, but we were finding out so many things, so many services that should be available to people in Marin and weren't.

Schultz: Many of the doctors came to that meeting, and we had a panel of League speakers, at which we had our usual graphs (you know the League can tell so much in pictorial form) and presented our findings. At last, the Board of Supervisors heeded--after the doctors asked for it--this public request and established a health department. Now that is purely thanks to the League of Women Voters.

Morris: Persistence.

Schultz: Yes. People today probably don't even stop to think! We have a sanitation department in our health department that is responsible for the potability of water and all that, throughout the county, and they inspect garbage dumps and so on. When we first moved to Mill Valley, for instance, our front door--the front door of Mill Valley--was a garbage dump, an open garbage dump where hogs fed all the time, hogs and rats! Fill and cover was being used elsewhere in the civilized world, but it had never been required here.

Morris: Were there any people on the Board of Supervisors then, in the thirties, who were still there when you joined them?

Schultz: I went on the board in January '53. Maybe Mr. Fusselman was there because he was there twelve years before I joined the board. But then I think the health department had been established before that.

Morris: Before World War II?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: By the time there got to be a county health department, were you president of the Marin League, or was that later?

Schultz: I was president of the Marin League in 1939 and '40 or '41.

Morris: Before you went to Sacramento, or did they overlap?

Schultz: They didn't overlap. Oh, let's see. [Pause] I have to stop and think there because I was pregnant and so uncomfortable with Joyce when I gave my final presidential address [laughter] that the girls got such a kick out of it. So, it didn't overlap; my presidency came after the advocacy.

Mill Valley Board of Freeholders

Morris: Then let's go back to the Mill Valley study. Whose idea was it and what research turned up this idea of a board of freeholders study?

Schultz: The idea for the study of a Know Your Town had been one that grew gradually in the League, which then was not a Mill Valley League.

Morris: It was the county League.

Schultz: It was the county League, but there were a great many Mill Valley members, which is why, when it no longer was a county League, it became the Mill Valley League of Women Voters. Today there's a Central Marin League of Women Voters that serves the rest of the county.

I just recently was pleased to see the Central Marin League and the Mill Valley League cooperating on a study of county government; they're doing that right now. I think that's marvelous because I've really felt that this is such a small area that to chop it up into communities, when so many of our problems are area-wide, has not produced the most effective expressions for action. I may be quite wrong, but that's my feeling about it. I know how much was accomplished by the county League, even though it drew members from all over the county.

To go back to how come we had a Know Your Town, I'm sure it was because in the course of being a League member, you focus on the structure of government. We had seen the loose structure of county government when we tried to make them accountable for what they weren't doing on health. I mean, here was all of great western Marin that was just interested in dairies and so on, and the supervisor from that district couldn't have cared less about a health department.

Morris: Even though the Poor Farm and its medical service were out there in his district.

Schultz: That's right.

Morris: According to Dr. Radford's book,* before the twentieth century, the supervisor had a number of responsibilities in his own district in the way of what buildings got built and where the roads went.

*The Bridge and the Building, Evelyn Morris Radford, Carlton Press, New York, 1974. Subtitled "The Art of Government and the Government of Art."

Schultz: The roads, the bridges, and it was his prerogative to decide who would be admitted to the Poor Farm for his district.

Morris: I see. But there was only one poor farm for the whole county?

Schultz: There was only one poor farm, yes.

Morris: I would think that the supervisor from that district would have some say about who supplied what to the poor farm, and whatnot.

Schultz: Yes. Particularly on roads. There's only one county road budget, but each supervisor has to get something for his district. And so there's a lot of trading back and forth--I'll let you have that bridge if you'll give me so many miles--and there was political exchange. There undoubtedly was on welfare and on purchasing.

Morris: I want to ask you about that again when we get to Sacramento. I've never heard of a board of freeholders before and it sounds like a very interesting political device.

Schultz: The League of Women Voters, from the time it began in 1920, focused on the structure of government and had espoused the principle of the council-manager form of government, which spread rapidly among cities. That was one of the reasons the League put out this guidance material, Know Your Town, to lead people to the recognition that there was a better way of administering municipal government than five part-time elected city councilmembers who, in many cases, were absent all day from the community. So who did carry out the policies that they established at their weekly or monthly meetings?

What had been gnawing at the women in Mill Valley for a long time, dating back to that wading pool, was that it took so long for someone to put water in the wading pool for the children to use.

Morris: And the women of Mill Valley were more aware of this kind of thing than their husbands?

Schultz: Women I think nearly always are more aware of the housekeeping details of government than their husbands are. There just was kind of a spontaneous coming-together: Let's do a Know Your Town Study. And Iris and I were the ones that led it.

We met in the library of the Outdoor Art Club. We were both members of Outdoor Art Club, and I don't remember whether we rented the library or whether the club gave it for this use. At any rate, we had that place to meet, and each week we arranged for different

Schultz: spokesmen to come to us. We heard from each of the five members of the City Council; and from all other elected officials--the clerk, the city attorney, the treasurer, etc.

Morris: And they were all elected?

Schultz: They were. And so, you can imagine, because we interviewed them each privately--[Knock on door. Tape off]

We had a very orderly approach; we directed certain questions to each person and got their answers. The women were tremendously interested. Of course, any time you read a text about county government or state government, you run into this ancient provision, which came from Anglo-Saxon times, about freeholders--not servants but people who own property and are accountable--having a voice in their own government. Our state legislature, when it wrote a constitution, wrote into it a provision whereby counties or cities could, by electing a board of freeholders, have access to more home rule than communities that don't use this tool of government.

State law outlines explicitly how you go about it, to have home rule and to change your form of government. To do it, you've got to elect fifteen freeholders, and they are given a year in which to make a study. They have claim upon public funds for investigation and that sort of thing. So, out of our Know Your Town study came--

Morris: Who had researched the California constitution?

Schultz: I believe both Iris and I researched the constitution.

Morris: Did you know what you were looking for, or were you looking for another avenue in which to function?

Schultz: We were looking for an answer to: How can Mill Valley make its city council more accountable?

Morris: That sounds very contemporary.

Schultz: [Laughter] How do you do it? I mean, you can appear before their meetings every night that they meet and ask them to do things. How do you make them more accountable?

Morris: Is there any parallel to a grand jury, which is a fairly well known device for accountability?

Schultz: The only direct accountability that a city or a county can acquire is by charter or ordinance. That's a law. Now, an ordinance, unless it is voted upon by the people, can be changed by a subsequent city council or a subsequent board of supervisors. So, though some communities might choose to reform their local government by an ordinance passed by the board of supervisors or by the city council, they have wakened up later to find that while they weren't looking, it was repealed or changed.

The citizen has to wear his crown and vote and make the decision himself. After we had completed our study and had reported to the community by way of a little pamphlet--Your City and Its Government--it became apparent that we could have more efficiency and more accountability by means of a charter, and that the only way you could get a charter was to elect freeholders to write the charter. Then they submit it to you the voters for your approval. If you don't like it, you vote it down and continue to be a general law city or county.

Morris: Once a community is a charter city, the freeholder era is past?

Schultz: Yes. The freeholder board lasts one year.

Morris: I see. And the same community can't elect another board of freeholders?

Schultz: Well, yes, they could. They could reject what the first board of freeholders did, and then subsequently elect another board of freeholders and try again, yes. There's no limitation on how many times they can try.

Morris: How did the Mill Valley City Council respond to this pamphlet of the League's? Did you go and present your material to the City Council before you put out the pamphlet?

Schultz: No, we didn't. We published--published! [laughter]--we ran off the pamphlet on a mimeograph machine in the basement of my house. [Laughter]

Morris: You had a mimeograph machine?

Schultz: It was the League's mimeograph machine, and it lived in my basement, yes, and we did lots of our work down there.

[End Tape 2, side A. Begin side B]

- Schultz: So there was an election and I was elected to the board of freeholders, and I became its secretary. I certainly exercised my prerogative of collecting information; I wrote everywhere [laughter] for information on how city manager-council government was working.
- Morris: Did you have any contact with the University?
- Schultz: Oh yes, indeed we did! We brought over speakers from the Public Administration Department.
- Morris: Did Professor May come himself?
- Schultz: No, Professor May did not. There was a young man over there named Arthur Harris, who later went on to the Berkeley City Council--he came. Of course, there was another expert in municipal government who came--Richard Graves--who had been the head of the League of California Cities for many years. Richard Graves came and told us a great deal about the effectiveness of council-manager government. You know, he subsequently ran for governor and had a bitter experience politically.
- Morris: Did you work on his campaign?
- Schultz: I was campaigning myself for something [laughter] at that time.
- Morris: You were between campaigns; he ran in 1954.
- Schultz: Then I did, and I remember running into him at a League of California Cities meeting in Santa Rosa, and we were comparing notes. [Pause] I must have worked for Dick Graves.
- Morris: Did you have contacts with him when you were in Sacramento?
- Schultz: Not very many. Not while I was an advocate, no. We were very careful not to ever presume on friendship.
- Morris: I was wondering if, as a fellow-advocate, there would be a kind of camaraderie or sharing--
- Schultz: Dick Graves was not an advocate.
- Morris: He went in and out. He was in state government for a while. He was director of the League of California Cities, and then they loaned him to Governor Olson to be head of Civil Defense. Then Richard Graves had a little difficulty with that job, so he left. Then he went back for Governor Warren in 1943.

San Quentin Concerns

Schultz: Oh! The reminds me of an episode with the League, when Olson was governor. He came down to San Quentin to hold public hearings on an accusation that had been made that the prison was exercising inhumane methods of punishment, particularly something called "the hole" and "the spot" in San Quentin. The papers made a great deal of it, and Governor Olsen came down to San Quentin, in person, to hold hearings on those grounds. George Davis, a young attorney, was attending those hearings too.

Fern Andrews and I, as League members, wanted to hear those hearings. We went over to San Quentin and presented ourselves at the gate and were refused admittance; they wouldn't let us come in at all.

Morris: Why?

Schultz: Well, arbitrary exercise of power. [Laughter] We were women, and they just didn't want any women in there listening. It was a tense situation; they were bringing the prisoners in to testify at these hearings. Well, we didn't take "no" for an answer. I have forgotten just what strings we pulled, but we got permission to go, and we attended that whole series of hearings on the punishment that was being meted out to the prisoners. "The hole" and "the spot" were both discontinued as methods of punishment as a consequence of those hearings.

But I think now of the women who are raising the cry for equality. We raised it then, but not noisily. I mean, we had to do it quietly because there was such resentment of women pushing themselves in where it was exclusively a man's province.

Morris: Was that your feeling, or is that what was said?

Schultz: Yes, it was our feeling, and they said that much--"This is no place for women."

Morris: Do you remember what you and Fern finally did to get somebody to let you in?

Schultz: I don't remember, Gabrielle. I don't remember what we did. I just remember how interesting those hearings were and how faithful was our attendance--we never missed one. At the end of it, we had an understanding of what the problems were there. I used that information years later on the grand jury to double check to see that they don't punish men that way anymore.

Morris: At the county jail?

Schultz: In San Quentin.

Morris: Am I right--San Quentin's a state prison?

Schultz: It's a state prison, but it's under the jurisdiction of the Marin County grand jury to purview it because it's in our county. So every Marin County grand jury has a day at San Quentin as part of their tour of duty, and they have to make comment.

The other thing is that every infraction over there also comes before the grand jury, which is why there has recently been made the proposal that Marin County have two grand juries every year, one just to hear the cases from San Quentin and criminal cases for indictment, and the other just to look at administrative affairs.

Morris: Not related necessarily to corrections.

Schultz: To criminals, yes. Now, whether they will do that or not--it means a double budget and everything else, and a double number of jurors; it may be rejected. But I think that is the purpose of the proposal.

Mill Valley Votes to Have a City Manager

Morris: Going back to the freeholders election, what was the reaction of the City Council? Did somebody have to ask them to hold such elections?

Schultz: That's right. The League asked them, as a result of this Know Your Town study, to call for the election of a board of freeholders. They didn't demur, they didn't quarrel about it--they did it.

Morris: Were there people on the council then who were themselves concerned that local city government wasn't as effective as it should be?

Schultz: I don't know whether they consciously thought that things could be better or not. There were some members of the City Council at that time who were local businessmen and who were in town all day, but I think they were quite satisfied with things the way they were.

Morris: They didn't see this study group recommending that there be an election held to eventually produce the city manager form of government--they didn't see that as a threat?

Schultz: I'm sure they did see it as a threat. But they didn't deny the right to do it.

Morris: Was there a lot of interest in the election?

Schultz: Yes, there was. There were forty-five candidates, out of which fifteen were elected.

Morris: Goodness. Was it by borough within the city?

Schultz: No, just at large. Anybody in Mill Valley that had lived here--I think there was a residence requirement of one year--

Morris: And you had to be a freeholder.

Schultz: Well, the matter about owning land has since been modified. You just have to be a voter now; you don't have to be a freeholder.

Morris: Was that a struggle, or did that just happen?

Schultz: It just happened as time went by. Did you know--I'm sure you did because you read Dr. Radford's book--that Marin County was one of the counties where the vote on the state constitution failed!

Morris: She did an incredible amount of research for that book. I learned a tremendous amount from it.

So, if there was that much interest in the election of the freeholders, did you have a lot of interest in the study as it was going on in your year's work?

Schultz: Yes. This has always been a community where the citizenry has been interested in what goes on in its town, and pays attention. So there was interest, and the newspapers reported the meetings as we went along. There was interest in voting for the board of freeholders; there was interest in approving the ordinance when it finally was proposed.

Morris: The ordinance to establish the city manager?

Schultz: Yes. This was a deliberate decision on the part of the board of freeholders not to write a charter. The reason we didn't--and I speak as one of the freeholders--was that we had found that charter writing calls for a great deal more wisdom and experience than average boards of freeholders possess, and that you can make many mistakes that then have to be corrected through the legal process.

Morris: Was this on the basis of studying other people's city charters?

Schultz: This was on the basis of studying other communities that had charter government. So Mill Valley chose not to invite litigation, but rather to avail ourselves of the body of law, which has been tried since 1883, that governs cities--the Municipal Corporation Act. By an ordinance defining the powers of a city manager, an ordinance adopted by the people so that his tenure and his duties are safeguarded, we could have the best of both worlds. We didn't have to write a charter, we remained a general law city, but we had manager-council government by a vote of the people and only they could change it. This has proved sound.

Morris: In other words, you wrote a sample ordinance for the city council?

Schultz: Yes, we did, with the help of Richard Graves and Arthur Harris and a lot of other experts.

Morris: And the ordinance provided for an election for the adoption of the ordinance?

Schultz: No. The ordinance described the powers and duties of the manager in relation to the council. That's what the county ordinance does; it outlines the powers and duties of the appointed administrator with respect to the board of supervisors and the other elected heads.

Morris: But the council could just adopt that ordinance in its regular procedure for adopting ordinances?

Schultz: They could. They could change it too, but they didn't.

Morris: Was there a referendum on this ordinance?

Schultz: They put it up for a direct vote of the people because that was the recommendation. The board of freeholders not only recommended that Mill Valley become a council-manager city, but adopt this ordinance, and handed them the ordinance. So they had the ordinance before them when they called for an election.

Morris: On that specific ordinance?

Schultz: On that specific ordinance.

Morris: You must have felt like you had done a good piece of work.

Schultz: [Laughter] We did. We really did feel we had done a good piece of work, and I still feel we did a good piece of work.

Morris: And it all went through and was accepted and the council put it to the vote without any bad feelings?

Schultz: Well, there were people--there was even one minority report to the freeholders report. There was a Mr. Van Atta who said that after having sat with the freeholders for a year and having heard everything that had been said, he felt that we didn't need to make any changes--that we could depend upon our five elected councilmen to administer city affairs to the best of their ability, and that we didn't need to make any changes, we didn't need this ordinance, we didn't need another job (namely, the manager). So he filed a minority report, which went right along with the majority report. But he did not reflect the majority opinion in Mill Valley

The majority of voters wanted better government. They wanted more accountability; they wanted more visibility. They get it through a manager.

Morris: I would think that just hiring a city manager would add a chunk to the budget of a town as small as Mill Valley at that point.

Schultz: It does. It does. But when you get a good manager, he makes so many other improvements in administration that he more than earns his salary. This certainly was true at the county level when we brought in the first county administrative officer--Don Jensen. He came in and was able, by persuasion of independently elected department heads, to cut \$86,000 out of a budget that the Board of Supervisors had already approved.

Morris: How did Mill Valley go about finding its first city manager? Did your freeholders group assist in that?

Schultz: No. The freeholders, once they had made their recommendations and findings, were through.

Morris: Did you have trouble meeting that one year deadline?

Schultz: No, we didn't. We met regularly, and I kept the minutes of the board of freeholders. I've kept them, and I still have them, and I'm going to turn them over to the--

Morris: Bancroft Library?

Schultz: Well, there's going to be a history room in our library down here, and I'm going to put them there. I didn't know where to put them. I knew they shouldn't go to the city hall.

Morris: Yes, they should go to an archive.

Schultz: That set of minutes has a wealth of information in it.

Morris: I should imagine. On behalf of all future researchers, I thank you.
[Laughter] Yes, a good set of minutes that reflects the flow of discussion is invaluable.

Schultz: Indeed it is, yes.

IV LEGISLATIVE ADVOCATE FOR THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF CALIFORNIA

Observations on Merit Recruiting, State and County

Morris: With all of this going on, how did you come to accept an assignment that would take you off to Sacramento, as legislative advocate for the League of Women Voters?

Schultz: I was so much interested in legislation. Here's a little note. One of the freeholders was Richard McCollister who, at the termination of the freeholders stint, ran for election as assemblyman. He was a freshman assemblyman the same year that I was an advocate up there for the California League of Women Voters.

As the years had gone by, I'd gotten extremely interested in the League's state legislative program and frequently went to Sacramento for hearings on bills and so on. Then when they asked Fern Andrews and me to be their resident advocates, it was just too good to miss.

Morris: Tell me about Fern Andrews. It sounds like you and she were quite a team together.

Schultz: We were very good friends and worked very well together. Fern had a husband who was willing to let her. She had a son too, but she could get away because he was helpful and willing and so on.

Morris: Her son was what age at that time?

Schultz: Let's see. I'm trying to think how old Don was then; when I first knew him, he was a little fellow about seven. He must have been about fourteen or fifteen then. Anyway, he didn't need his mother so much anymore. We were gone, as I told you once, from Monday morning until Friday night, and we came home weekends.

Schultz: At any rate, I was just so interested in legislation that this invitation from the League to go up there and be on the scene was--

Morris: It's not a board position?

Schultz: No, it isn't. You report to the board at intervals, but it's not a board position.

Morris: How did the state board happen to settle on you two ladies?

Schultz: I really don't know. I don't know how they happened to settle on us. I had gone up there to a lot of hearings of the state Personnel Board with Kate Nachtrieb, and she was on the state board. I think that probably some of the state board members who had known Fern and me in the League and at conventions and that sort of thing said we would be a likely pair to go up there, and that we didn't have restraints at home.

Morris: This was a consideration of the League board?

Schultz: I'm sure it must have been a consideration. What woman can get up and leave a family? Almost no one can.

Morris: Unless she's got a permanent housekeeper, and that's not the normal League type of person.

Schultz: No, it isn't. I feel that part of my experience, Gabrielle, has been accidental because I could pick up and go, and had a husband who was willing that I should--that's important too.

Morris: Is he interested in these governmental issues?

Schultz: No, he's not really. He's not a political creature, as I am. He's interested when I tell him about things; he's interested while I tell him. But he's not interested in pursuing it, if you know what I mean. He's interested to hear about it, but he's not interested to put himself into it.

Morris: These Personnel Board hearings that you were attending, were they related to a study that the League was doing?

Schultz: The League has had a long background in merit principles of recruitment for public employment; we had a continuing interest in merit recruitment. We went regularly to hearings, just out of sustained interest in the state Personnel Board. They were having a dispute at the state

Schultz: level. The man who was the head of the state Personnel Board was Louis J. Kroeger at that time. He was the executive director, and he was in conflict with members of the Personnel Board over policies and procedures. And the League--

Morris: Which side was who on?

Schultz: The League felt that Louis J. Kroeger was right and that the commission was wrong.

Morris: What was Mr. Kroeger's position?

Schultz: Well, there were many different policies that they would act upon, you see, and commissioners would go contrary to his recommendations. I can't from memory be explicit on what they were.

Morris: About that time, the idea of professional public administration was beginning to really take hold. There was beginning to be a move that all state employees should come under a civil service procedure. There were some questions that occasionally some governors, of whom the incumbent was one, had difficulties with their appointments--that they were political. I wondered if this was surfacing at the personnel level?

Schultz: It was surfacing, and it got to be such an open conflict that there was a great deal of publicity about it. At one hearing, the League of Women Voters made a statement at the Personnel Board hearing on some of the policies that were under dispute. The League made a specific statement.

One of the members of the commission questioned whether the League was qualified to make such an observation. Mr. Kroeger pointed out to them that the League had consistently covered every meeting of the Personnel Board over a long period of years, and that there was no organization in the state that was more qualified to speak.

Morris: Didn't Kate Nachtrieb eventually became a member of the state Personnel Board?

Schultz: I think she did, and I hope she did because she certainly deserved to be.

Morris: Somewhere I have heard that she was involved in writing a new-- whatever the equivalent of a personnel ordinance is at the state level. I wondered if you were aware of that, or if that's just legend?

Schultz: I think there's basis for the legend because Kate was one of the people in the League who was most knowledgeable about personnel practices and procedures. Fern and I later built on the basis of Kate's indoctrination.

When I was elected to the Board of Supervisors, Marin didn't have merit recruitment at that time. As a result of my proposal on the Board of Supervisors, Marin County created its first Personnel Commission, and Fern Andrews was my appointee. So, our personnel ordinances were worked out by Fern Andrews and the other four members. The other four members! I laugh because, you see, every time the Board of Supervisors creates a commission, the appointments to the commission are varied. There are some who try to choose just the right person; there are others who make very casual appointments. So, you get the make-up of a commission that may be effective or may not be.

Morris: Each supervisor makes appointments directly?

Schultz: That's right. I remember talking with other supervisors about the kind of people that we should have on the Personnel Commission. (You can't tell them who to appoint, but you can sort of set up standards that they could use in finding a person.)

There were two very strong people--Fern Andrews and an attorney, Julius Selinger, who were appointed to the first Personnel Commission. They, together, I think carried that commission for years. They were the ones that gave thought, they were the ones who did the work, they were the ones who were truly knowledgeable, until the time that Fern's health failed and she had to give up the work.

We still have a Personnel Commission, and we now have limited merit recruitment, which is often more observed in the breach than any other way, and we still have political appointments. I am not very happy about the direction in which recent recruitment has gone in our county government where, notwithstanding the principles of merit recruitment for filling jobs at county level, the supervisors are choosing individually those members who should be their aides, and there is no application of merit recruitment. It's back to the old spoils system, where each one rewards the person that he wants--

Morris: --to keep close to him, and those people are outside of any kind of merit hiring?

Schultz: That's right; they are chosen because of their political assistance in the next campaign for reelection or in the past campaign for election. I'm sorry to see that direction develop.

Welfare During the Depression

Morris: That's an interesting point, yes. Had you become active in state election campaigns by this time? Had you worked for Culbert Olsen when he ran for governor in 1938?

Schultz: I don't remember being active in the campaign for Culbert Olsen because LWV directors may not espouse candidates. The campaign that got a lot of action in Marin County at that time was Thirty-dollars-every-Thursday. League board members can support issues under certain circumstances.

Morris: Was that the '34 Upton Sinclair EPIC [End Poverty in California] campaign?*

Schultz: Oh--EPIC! Yes, that was Upton Sinclair. That was one where there was a lot of activity; so many of my friends were really working hard on EPIC.

Morris: What was the appeal of that to Marin County? Who in Marin County responded to that?

Schultz: The idealists--the people you'd call the liberals.

Morris: We've mentioned that there was a poor farm, which is an institution that's vanished. How many people were living there, and how many other people were there who were in need?

Schultz: Well, it was not very large. I wouldn't hazard a guess as to how many people lived there without trying to really inform myself of how many were there. I remember the many times that I went out there; it seemed to me that everywhere you looked there was a poor old soul drooping around in a wheelchair, clustered in a sun room or isolated in their rooms, and it seemed like there were a great many.

Morris: It was mostly older people?

*Interviewer's error. Thirty-dollars-every-Thursday was the slogan for the 1938 "Ham and Eggs" initiative to provide state warrants to the unemployed, which was denounced by Sinclair.

Schultz: Yes, it was all older people. There were a few handicapped that were not old, but it was mostly old people. I recollect that when we first came to Marin County there was no public welfare department. The first that I was aware of was when SERA came into being. And-- here we are again--the League sent me and several other League members to interview Mr. Porter, who was an appointee of the governor--that would have been Olson, wouldn't it?

Morris: Olson didn't take office until January '39. If it was before then, it would have been Frank Merriam.

Schultz: Well, he was a Democratic appointee.

Morris: SERA was federal money--

Schultz: But it was a state appointment, wasn't it?

Morris: That's the point I'm not clear about.

Schultz: It was federal money that came into Marin, but it was administered through a man appointed by the governor, and in this case it was Somebody Porter. I remember our going and talking to Mr. Porter about how many cases they had in Marin.

This was, as I remember it, prior to our having a welfare department. The welfare department grew out of that, I thought, because when the federal funds no longer were funneled into the county, there was still the need for a department of government to care for the needs of indigent people.

Morris: It's one of the more complicated areas of state administration. I was hoping you could shed some light on it since you were in Sacramento part of that time. There was a state social welfare department and then there was also the state relief administration.

Schultz: That's where it [SERA] gets its name--State Emergency Relief Administration.

Morris: It had about five different directors under Governor Olsen, and there was one uproar after another about it. The legislature got extremely unhappy about it. Finally it was administered by the State Department of Finance until 1941 when the federal relief program ended.

Schultz: It probably was, yes.

Working with the Legislature

Morris: So what kinds of responsibilities did you and Fern have when you took on the Sacramento job? You were there from Monday through Friday.

Schultz: That's right, and we had a whole list of bills, of legislation, that had been approved by the League--the state League and the various Leagues through the process through which the League works in reaching consensus. So, there were all these bills in the hopper that were being heard in committee day after day, and it was our responsibility to appear before the committees of the legislature to speak for or against bills that the League was opposing or supporting. After that, it was our obligation to seek out every one of the 120 legislators and talk to them. We were busy.

Morris: How did you and Fern divide this up?

Schultz: Well, she took certain bills and I took certain bills that were our primary responsibility. We knew all there was to know about them, and what other lobbyists we could look to for support, and where the opposition lay. Then, each morning, she went to certain committee meetings and I went to certain committee meetings. Then we'd meet and compare notes. We divided up the legislators; she was to see certain ones and I was to see certain ones. Then we got together to compare notes.

We had to keep a very precise record for what we had done with our time, who we had seen and what we accomplished. Then, at the end of the session, we made a report (at the state convention, as I remember it) of our appraisal of the accomplishments of that session of the legislature.

Morris: Who do you remember among the legislators as being particularly receptive and a good person to talk with about League legislation?

Schultz: Well, the man we rode back and forth with was receptive--that was the assemblyman, McCollister--but we educated him. [Laughter] I think he got more out of those trips back and forth than we did! That was very helpful. He was receptive; he listened. But he didn't vote right, in our opinion, many times.

I wish I had some of those reports before me to remind me of different names at that time, because they don't come to me, of effective legislators.

Morris: Wasn't Charlie Lyon a strong man in the legislature?

Schultz: Oh, wow! But he was terrible! He was one of the men we would have liked to see held accountable for what he did.

Morris: Why, particularly?

Schultz: Because he was so powerful, number one, and so devious, number two, and destructive.

Morris: Destructive?

Schultz: Yes. He didn't use his power constructively. If you asked for an example, I couldn't give it to you.

Morris: What about the Ways and Means Committee? Were they one that you had good relations with?

Schultz: Well, I'm going to tell you that I felt that the reception of the legislators to the League advocates was rather--it was almost always courteous and patient, but I don't think they thought that we were very necessary to their way of life. I didn't get the feeling that they looked with great respect--although the League itself is regarded with great respect because they know that the League women know. As advocates up there, they were always courteous to us, but it wasn't always easy to get an audience with them; they often wished that they could avoid it, and we had to work against that.

As I look back at the legislature as it was then, because the third house was so powerful, and there were so many people with heaps of money that they were spreading around (the League had none and didn't spread it anyway), we weren't important as advocates.

Morris: Were there any other citizen advocates, public interest advocates?

Schultz: Yes, there was the Federation of Womens Clubs; they had someone up there. I remember one woman that used to work with us and help us a great deal was the lobbyist for the motion picture industry, a very capable woman whose name I can't remember at the moment. The Nurses' Association had a lobbyist there that we worked with. You'll smile at this--there was a morticians' lobbyist that we found very helpful to us on the Little Merchants Bill. You often found your alliances with strange people.

Morris: How about Lawrence Arnstein? He apparently was very active in a number of public health issues.

Schultz: I don't remember him.

Morris: That's useful; he may have worked more in the Bay Area and done his lobbying by long distance.

Schultz: That's possible.

Morris: Who were the ones who had the money and the influence that seemed to get the better hearing?

Schultz: Oh, the people who represented liquor interests, transportation interests, oil interests, banks--oh, wow! how powerful the banks were!--savings and loans, and the publishers. Now on that Little Merchants Bill, the big magazines like Curtis Publishing and so on--they flew in their big guns to help defeat the Little Merchants Bill.

Morris: What was the Little Merchants Bill?

Schultz: The Little Merchants Bill was a proposal to legalize, for newspapers and magazine publishers, the employment of ten-year-old children (boys) as little merchants--not employees that they were responsible for; the child was responsible to return the money for the papers or for the magazine and so on. It was in my opinion an open door to exploitation and child labor and in some cases abuse. The League was very much opposed to the Little Merchants Bill.

In fact, Fern and I were flayed in an editorial in the Independent-Journal--these two women from Marin County that went up there to take the money out of the mouths of these dear little newsboys that were the backbone of the newspaper industry, and most successful businessmen got their start as newsboys, and we wanted to deprive them [laughter] and so on. So, we were not popular with the I-J around here. I think they kept their prejudice for a great many years and may still have it. [Laughter]

[End Tape 2. Begin Tape 3, side A.]

[Interview 3: March 30, 1976]

A Note on the Marin Democratic Women's Club

Morris: Before we get back to when you were the League of Women Voters advocate in Sacramento--you mentioned that Thomas Keating was a helpful friend. How did he manage to be the lone Democrat elected in Marin with its heavy Republican registration?

And how did he become a personal friend?

Schultz: Because we were both Democrats! [Laughter] And, you know, his election was a great upset, because the state senatorship had been held for many years by Senator Reindollar, a Republican.* We've already talked about Marin being a Republican stronghold. Senator Reindollar just automatically was re-elected each time, but Tom Keating, who was a local attorney, and a Democrat, decided to challenge the incumbency.

He organized the Democratic women in Marin! Yes, he did. It paid off, because we just set out through the county and sang the praises of Tom. Of course, you know political futures certainly may be determined by a number of factors that have nothing to do with the qualifications of the candidate. But in this case, Tom Keating's family was well-known.

His father had been sheriff. The name was familiar, so we had an easy product to sell. It worked, and he beat Senator Reindollar and went up there as our own senator.

Morris: I take it you were one of the women in this organization he put together.

Schultz: I always have been active as a Democrat.

Morris: How long back had you been involved in party politics?

Schultz: Well, I remember along about 1940, I began to help Democratic candidates. Now there were no real organizations in the county at that time. We just got together, and there was a campaign.

*Charles R. Reindollar was senator for the 13th District 1933-36, Thomas F. Keating 1937-50. From 1905-32, Marin County with Contra Costa formed the 9th District.

Morris: Did you work through the Democratic county central committee?

Schultz: I did not. No. This women's organization was put together completely outside the central committee. However, one or two of the women who were active in it were on the central committee. The central committee didn't want to have anything to do, as I recall, with the creation of the Democratic Women's Club. I think we called it the Marin Democratic Women's Club.

It had most of its active members down in southern Marin. We used to meet on a regular basis at the Outdoor Art Club in the library there. I don't recall that our central committees were very active. I'm pleased to see that our present Democratic central committee is putting out a little publication, at last, nowadays, which will be a good thing to keep Democrats informed. It can be a vehicle for candidates.

Morris: Who were the women, that you recall, who were both in the Marin Democrat Women's Club and on the central committee.

Schultz: One name that I recall was Sada Stevens, who was on the central committee for a long while. I really blush to tell you the women that I remember whose names I can't remember! I remember these women, but I can't remember these names.

Morris: Did Mrs. Stevens stay in touch with you, and later on work in your campaigns?

Schultz: Sada Stevens was my campaign treasurer when I ran for the Assembly.

Women and Other Lobbyists

Morris: In the interview that you did with the historical society, you made a reference to being concerned about what was going on Sacramento when you were there. I wonder if you could explain that.

Schultz: Yes. As advocates, Fern Andrews and I occasionally had floor privileges. We could sit downstairs in the rear of the chambers, and as legislators went in or out, we had a chance to talk to them, or buttonhole them. For the most part, advocates, except the favored ones, have to sit in the balcony, as you know, in the spectators' area.

Morris: How did you win this favored position?

Schultz: By the friendship of some of the legislators; for instance, Tom Keating was always very nice about giving us floor passes, so we could get in the preferred places. Then on the other side, there were some very thorny assemblymen, and we didn't abuse the privilege of being there. We didn't make nuisances of ourselves.

But to get back to "how did I observe things that were going on?" From the vantage point of the gallery, the balcony, you could see signals passed down below, or even in the balcony itself.

Morris: Hand signals?

Schultz: It might be just a gesture. Then the lobbyist would leave the gallery, and somebody would leave the floor, and they would make connections downstairs. It was rather obvious that a great many of the legislators changed their votes on occasion, when some pressure had been brought to bear.

I don't want to give you the impression that this was flagrant, because it certainly hasn't been. The press would have called attention to it. But it did happen, enough to alert us to the fact that we certainly were on the periphery of the business that was going on there.

Morris: What kinds of bills do you recall that would produce this kind of--?

Schultz: Bills on transportation, banking, liquor, beer, wine, saloons. Except for banking, those were all Artie Samish's territory. Artie Samish was unquestionably the dominant factor in Sacramento. He really was the secret boss of California for a long time.

Morris: Did he actually come and sit in the gallery himself, and then meet legislators.

Schultz: Not Artie. Artie was a big fat man, as you remember. He was very distinguishable. He had a first lieutenant that did it. I don't remember his name, but I can still see him sitting up there giving the signals. Samish himself didn't come there. He carried on his influencing from the Hotel Senator. He didn't come across the street. They came to him.

Morris: Didn't many legislators live in the Hotel Senator?

Schultz: Yes, they did.

Morris: In looking through our notes, I came across a couple of other people who were legislative representatives. I wondered if you'd had any contact. One was Arthur Cory, for the Teachers' Association.

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: And Bill Keck and Harold Morton for the small oil companies.

Schultz: We didn't have anything to do with either of them. I mean, Fern and I didn't. Our exchange of assistance was through the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Nurses' Association, the Teachers' Association, and occasionally then we would get help from small ones, like the morticians, and the egg industry, and things of that sort.

Morris: How about Mr. Cory? Teaching is a traditional women's field.

Schultz: Yes, the League had many bills concerning schools and education that were endorsed by the League, as they are today. Our relations with Mr. Cory were always very cordial. He was very helpful to us, and I think conversely, so was the League helpful to him.

Morris: Did you have any feeling about being treated differently, or listened to differently, because you were women?

Schultz: Yes. There was a certain--I hesitate to use the phrase "male chauvinism," but it is that. That kind of cutesy approach. Instead of taking you really seriously on the basis of the issue you were there to discuss, there was a chivalry, you know, that was in itself sort of demeaning, if you follow what I mean.

Morris: Yes.

Schultz: It's hard to put it into words.

Morris: It's a put-down.

Schultz: Yes, we had to confront that all the time.

Morris: Did you feel that they didn't really pay attention to the information you had to present?

Schultz: No, I didn't feel that. I feel that we established our credentials, because we were very much in earnest [laughs], and we were well-prepared. Oftentimes we knew more about the bill than the man we were talking to! Really! So they did respect us, and they did begin to depend on us.

Recollections of Some Legislators

Morris: That's interesting. There was a woman in the Assembly at that point.

Schultz: Yes, there was. Jeanette Daley.

Morris: Did you have any kind of special relationship with her?

Schultz: No, not special. We didn't attempt to gain her as an ally, because we didn't think that was proper. We treated her as we did all the legislators, and we didn't concentrate on her. But we did see her regularly.

Morris: What kind of a person was she? What were her interests?

Schultz: She had been a teacher, you know. Or did you know?

Morris: No, I didn't.

Schultz: She came from Pasadena, I think. Yes.

Morris: She was in the legislature quite a long time.

Schultz: Yes. That's right, and the only one! Here was where that chivalry just laid itself on the floor! [Laughs] Whenever she rose to speak or anything! But she was a very mild speaker, and a gentle person. While they listened when she got up to speak, which she didn't very often, my general impression was that her influence was minimal.

Morris: Because there was just one of her?

Schultz: And because she was mild! [Chortles] You have to be aggressive.

Morris: It was her manner?

Schultz: Yes, and you have to rivet peoples' attention, it seems to me, when you're so much of a minority. Now, look at March Fong [Eu!] Look how she's approaching it. Of course, there have been other women there, but they still are so few. Mrs. [Yvonne Braithwaite] Burke was one to dramatize her singularity, too, I thought, very creditably. You see where she went! She's gone on. She's one of the vital people in the Congress now.

Morris: Did you work more closely with the assemblymen from this part of California?

Schultz: We worked more closely with the assemblymen--not necessarily from this part of California, however--because there were so many more of them that we had to work on. There were eighty of them.

We spent a lot more time in that chamber. We had to, because there were just that many bodies to contact. So we spent a lot more time in the assembly than it seems to me needed to be done in the senate. The two houses were so different. The tempo was different in the Assembly, and we did find some assemblymen who were very willing to help us.

Morris: If I run down a list of assemblymen of those years, would you tell me what you remember of them?

Schultz: Oh, yes.

Morris: George Miller, from over in Contra Costa County?

Schultz: George Miller was a stalwart on whom we could depend.

Morris: When you say "depend," does that mean that if you had talked with him about a bill, and gotten his agreement, he'd stick to that?

Schultz: He did not waver. He was not one to play both sides of the street. He was dependable.

Morris: Arthur Breed, also from the East Bay?

Schultz: I don't remember him as well. He was on a number of business and real estate kinds of committees.

Morris: Hugh Burns, who was also there for a long, long time?

Schultz: Yes, Hugh Burns was there a long time, and was very powerful. He was not particularly helpful to us.

Morris: Gordon Garland?

Schultz: Yes. He was there, you know, and then he was defeated. He was director of Motor Vehicles in the forties.

Morris: I don't know if he went back into the legislature, but in recent years, he's a lobbyist.

Schultz: Yes, I understood that, that he had become a lobbyist. He was a handsome person with a lot of charm. We didn't find him helpful.

Morris: Jack Tenney?

Schultz: Well, Tenney was one of those people who was out to find sinister purposes behind many liberal efforts. You know, there was a huge textbook flap.

Morris: Yes, just about those years. But that was Mr. Tenney?

Schultz: Yes.

Concerns about Communism

Morris: Wasn't he on the state un-American activities committee?

Schultz: Yes, I think he was, and pursued communists with a religious zeal.

Morris: Was this already evident?

Schultz: [Emphatically] Ohhh, yes. It had begun.

Morris: And it was visible in Sacramento?

Schultz: Well, it was visible in the kinds of votes that they cast. Yes, I would say that it was visible. We often were enlightened by members of the Assembly who had had their finger on the pulse much more accurately than we could. So I guess we got some of our impressions vicariously.

Morris: What kind of response was there when the question of subversives was raised in the legislature?

Schultz: Well, the attitude that seemed to be apparent was that you had to be very careful with whom you were seen, or you would be associated. It was just the McCarthy guilt by association. You had to be careful about your associations up there.

Morris: Was there anything particularly related to California about this? Were there particular kinds of legislation, or particular kinds of things going on in the community that started all this concern about subversives?

Schultz: There was, and it probably grew gradually as the years went by. In Mill Valley, for instance, we had two people who were writers-- Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. They were suspected by some of the very conservative people of being leftist, communistic.

Schultz: The American Association of University Women arranged (the Mill Valley branch) to have a program at Parks School, which would be addressed by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. The school board was approached to cancel the use of the school, because these two speakers were suspected by some citizens of being leftist or communistic. Now, they weren't! [Laughs]

If you've ever read any of their books, The Mind Alive and The Enduring Quest, and some of the others--they're a far cry. I mean, they're truly a democratic search to share information in the most democratic way. They were most definitely not what they were accused of being, but this became an issue. [Indignantly] The school board had been asked to cancel the hall, because these people were called communistic by some citizens.

To the credit of the school board, they did not do that. They held their ground.

Morris: And the Overstreets spoke at the meeting?

Schultz: The Overstreets spoke to an overflow crowd.

Morris: I can believe it.

Schultz: Oh, yes! Indeed! But, AAUW had to live with this for a long time!

Morris: In other words, after that some people continued to say that the AAUW was for the left?

Schultz: That's right. I as a member, therefore, must be left.

Morris: In Sacramento, did you ever get any sense that sometimes these charges of subversive connections were used in a political sense, in other words, to discredit somebody in the legislature or to bring weight one way or the other on a piece of legislation?

Schultz: Yes, I did have that impression. But if you asked me to give an example, I couldn't, because I just don't remember. However, I can give you one little example. That was the Little Merchants Bill, which the League opposed, and the publishers from the East flew in their battery of lawyers to fight the passage of that bill.

It aimed to make it possible for schools to issue permits to children ten years old to take time off from school to sell magazines and newspapers. The bill meant to regulate what they called the "little merchants." It was aimed at child protection. It was aimed to prevent the exploitation of children.

Schultz: Yet, it was suggested that the organizations and the individuals who were opposing this bill were trying to take a means of livelihood away from these children, and that we were not their friends, but were, in fact, their enemies. It was un-American. Really, they said it was "un-American" to stand in opposition to the ancient, honorable exercise of the little merchants' right to be a little merchant, and rise from that.

They pointed out that many great men had, as young people, been newspaper salesmen. I mean, it was quite maudlin.

Morris: We touched on this last time we talked, and I don't know that the tape tells us whether the bill was passed or not.

Schultz: Well, let's see. I really ought to check that, because it's important. [Laughs] I don't remember! I remember the fight! I ought to know whether or not it passed or not, but I don't.

Some Disillusionment with the Legislature

Morris: I understand that McCollister was one of the legislators who was indebted to Samish. Was there a particularly close tie between them?

Schultz: Yes, there was. McCollister certainly accepted legislative programs, and certainly financial assistance in his campaign (and perhaps at other times, but I don't know) from Samish.

Morris: Would you have expected this, from your early acquaintance with him on that board of freeholders?

Schultz: No, it was a disappointment to me to find this to be true.

Morris: Did you ever talk to him about it? You said that he used to give you a ride back and forth from Sacramento.

Schultz: Every weekend. He was wonderful in that way. I mean, he was most generous in bringing Fern and me to Mill Valley and then picking us up again very early on Monday morning. He was wonderful! So we couldn't be too tough on him, but we did remonstrate with him, in a friendly way, with the intent of being helpful, about his excessive drinking. He'd come on the floor in no condition to behave rationally.

Morris: This developed while he was in Sacramento?

Schultz: Yes, it began the first session he was there.

Morris: Isn't that curious?

Schultz: I don't know whether that's curious or not. There was an awful lot of that, you know, and there still is.

Morris: Drinking is part of being a legislator?

Schultz: Yes. Some can handle it, and some can't. Some do a great deal more of it than they can handle, and it just becomes common knowledge.

Morris: Yes. When it gets really badly out of hand. I've read a couple of comments wondering why the newspapers don't report on this sooner, in specific cases.

Schultz: I think there has been an attitude on the part of the reporters that it was a kind of disloyalty to a man to point out his personal problems. It still prevails to some extent, if you've read Art Hoppe in the last day or two, about The Final Days. It's about this cruel exposure of Richard Nixon's fall from grace, and the way he met it as an individual.

There still is this revulsion on the part of sensitive people to exposing other human beings to the extreme consequences of their faults, their personal faults. I mean, somehow, out of decency, you want to shield them.

Morris: Another question about the press. A little earlier, you mentioned that you and Fern were aware of signals going from the lobbyists in the gallery to the floor of the legislature. Apparently, the press never picked those up.

Schultz: I don't think the press ever picked them up, because you know where they are. They're down on the floor, on the side. They couldn't see, probably, those signals. No, that's quite understandable that they didn't ever focus in on that. Like Earl Behrens--you could imagine that he would have no reticence about doing that, if he saw it. But I don't think that they saw it.

Morris: On the business of legislators having drinks together--does that affect attitudes toward women as legislators, do you suppose?

Schultz: Yes, I do think so. It was indeed expressed to me, when I became a candidate for the Senate. It was that I would be the only woman in the Senate if I was successful, and that it is a kind of club. I would be on the outside, because I would not be in a position to meet them on their own ground at the bar.

Morris: Was it explicit that meeting fellow legislators at the bar was the way that you get something political accomplished?

Schultz: Yes, indeed. It's done socially. Not in the halls of the capitol!

Morris: Not in the halls of the capitol?

Schultz: It is NOT done there and EVERYONE knows it.

Morris: Another piece of that Sacramento experience--you said that during that people like Bernice May and Hulda McLean from the League of Women Voters board were very helpful to you, then and later on. Can you tell me a little bit more about that?

Schultz: Well, I could always go to Bernice May to explain to me, in greater detail, the basis for the League's positions on different things. Both of them had had more experience in state League than I had had. Both of them became presidents--of the state League.

Morris: Wasn't Mrs. McLean president while you were in Sacramento?

Schultz: Yes. I remember that the convention at which she was elected had a lot of respect for her. She was a person whose counsel I trusted.

Morris: Even though she's a Republican lady?

Schultz: That's right! She was still a Leaguer! You see, we were all reared in this nonpartisanship of the League; it's a kind of special ambience. [Laughs] I can remember debates on political issues between some who were Democrats and some who were Republicans on foreign policy and trade and things of that sort, where the differences between the Democrats and the Republicans was very detectable. Yet, we never were so partisan that we forsook that overall objectivity that the League had taught us.

Morris: That seems to stay with people.

Schultz: Yes, it does. Thank goodness!

Morris: Are there any other things about those years in Sacramento that really stick in your mind as being important to you, or having been important otherwise, that ought to go in this record?

Schultz: Well, you see, the cumulative effect of watching the power of the third house towards the best interests of the democratic representative government destroyed a lovely illusion that I had had about how democratic government works. I know how it should work, and how it could work, but now I know how it does work.

Schultz: This is a very corrosive discovery.

Morris: Corrosive in what sense?

Schultz: In that you come to your consciousness of government either at the local level, or the county, the state, the federal, with certain clouds of glory that have come from the study of the history of our country, and the great men who have served it. We haven't seen the flaws in the individuals. We only see them as consistently good and great, you know.

It's sort of the same thing that's happening to us now, with the exposure of the personal frailties of JFK. I'd rather not know those! I really would! [Laughs] And yet, it does matter in your final appraisal of any person. You can't ignore the faults. You can't make a person all good when he isn't--and shouldn't! But I did used to have, I'm sure, a very glorified concept of what it meant to go to the state assembly, and to go to the state senate. The same for Congress.

My experience, just as an advocate, enlightened me to the point where the glow departed.

Morris: But it did not completely turn you off the political process?

Schultz: Indeed not. In fact, it enforced my determination to keep on struggling forward to make a change. I still do believe that government belongs to the people, and we can change it, in spite of all the superiority of the lobbyists and the corporations.

Morris: What's your sense of why a person who has been elected, and has that constituency behind him, what makes him susceptible to somebody outside the legislature telling them what to do, and then doing it?

Schultz: What makes a legislator susceptible to advice from his constituents, you mean?

Morris: No, I'm thinking about the difference between advice from one's constituents and a lobbyist saying: Vote yes on that bill, and a legislator saying: Yes, sir, and doing so.

Schultz: Oh. Well, it comes down to the financing of your next campaign. If you want to stay in elected public office, you learn that if you did not vote as directed by the person who ladled out the funds, then they were withheld from you the next time, and there would be a successor in your seat.

Morris: For how many legislators did this prevail?

Schultz: I think for a majority of them there. There were a few souls who, I think, voted their convictions. But I think all of them were subject to these political pressures, and I think they still are, even the most respect-worthy. There are men up there who are respect-worthy.

This is why it is so necessary for the average citizen to actively participate in the political process, because the only antidote to special interests is wide public knowledge of what kind of a game they're playing.

Morris: My understanding is that most powerful members of the third house really didn't care how the legislators voted on the bills not concerned with their interests.

Schultz: That's right. They didn't direct every vote. It was only the particular votes.

Morris: Which were normally connected with economic interests?

Schultz: Yes. The banks and insurance companies have benefitted for years from the superiority of their lobbyists up there.

Morris: Who was their lobbyist?

Schultz: Well, Mr. Samish has done more for the banking industry and the insurance industry, although liquor and transportation were his main concerns. Mr. Kalterbach, one of the ones close to the banking industry, reaped tremendous rewards from them. He was the most innocuous-looking man.

Morris: I came across references to something called a combined lobby, composed of the Chamber of Commerce, the Associated Farmers, the merchants', and the manufactureres' associations. It says that this association was primarily formed to fight labor. Was there indeed such a combined lobby?

Schultz: I couldn't say so from my own contact with it, but I was certainly sure that was true.

Morris: Was that conflict between labor and management particularly visible while you were in Sacramento?

Schultz: Yes. The labor unions were among those, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Engineers--you wouldn't think that they would throw their weight behind the Little Merchants' Bill, or against it, but they did. Labor especially helped us in fighting the Little Merchants' Bill. This may have been labor against management, and probably was.

[End Tape 3, side A. Begin side B.]

Schultz: The thing that really made the greatest impression on me as I started my work in Sacramento was the special legislative report on the undue influence of lobbyists on the legislature. The study was done by a man named Philbrick, and he put the finger on Artie Samish.

Morris: That was 1939.

Schultz: You see, that was current when Fern and I went to the legislature.

Morris: Now you've gotten back to the beginning of the chronology in my head. That investigation started with a Sacramento County grand jury report.

Schultz: I didn't know how it started. I just remember that the report was devastating.

Morris: In talking with people who were in the legislature at that point, I never could find anybody who could establish the connection between the county grand jury and then the legislative report.

Schultz: I don't know either, but I think it would be mighty interesting to trace that.

Morris: The whole grand jury process, I think, is not very well understood. Was that the same Mr. Philbrick who then went on to make a number of reports about subversive activity?

Schultz: Yes. I wasn't so familiar with those.

Morris: Then he went national, I gather?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: You came to Sacramento, then, aware of the hazards of lobbying?

Schultz: That's right. With a copy of that report well-thumbed! [Laughs]

V MILL VALLEY CITY COUNCIL, 1946-1950

Motherhood and the Public Good

Morris: I don't know which way to put this question. Did you come to the end of an appointed term as advocate, or did you become pregnant [Schultz hoots] and then retire from that job?

Schultz: I came to the end of an appointed term, [merrily] and subsequently became pregnant, because I thought then there must be something in life that's worthwhile! Maybe it's babies--it's not the legislature! [Laughter]

Morris: It was really that depressing?

Schultz: Oh, I can't tell you how depressed I was after the legislative advocacy experience. You see, the result of it came ten years later when I said: This man has to be challenged.

Morris: In other words, though depressed by the experience, you continued to watch Mr. McCollister as your local legislator?

Schultz: [Emphatically] I continued to watch him by getting a copy of every bill that he ever introduced, and studying who it benefited.

Morris: And what did you observe?

Schultz: That it didn't benefit Marin County and Sonoma.

Morris: None of them?

Schultz: Well, I won't say none of them, but a legislator is supposed to carry legislation that does reflect the needs and people of his constituency. This was not true. I mean, what has jai alai to do with Marin and Sonoma?

Morris: [Snickers] I didn't know that we had legislation--

Schultz: Well, you did have legislation attempting to legalize it, to make it commercially profitable, and so on. And greyhound racing!

Morris: Aha! That was a Bay Area issue early in the thirties. There was a dog track over in Richmond then, and quite an investigation of illegal gambling connected with the greyhound track. Whoever those greyhound people were, may have been connections of Mr. McCollister?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: You had been married for a number of years by then--had you given up on having a family at that point?

Schultz: Well, you see, Ray and I were married for fifteen years before we became parents. I'm sure that one of the reasons that I had the freedom to become active politically and in the League, was that I did not have small children to keep me at home. It was an opportunity to develop a great deal of information, intensively, that wouldn't have been present had I been a mother at that time.

Morris: I have another kind of a question, having gotten to know you slightly--you strike me as having a great deal of energy and organizational ability. Have you ever considered whether if you had had two or three kids, as was the custom, shortly after you were married, you would have stayed devoted to the home and housewife routine?

Schultz: [Laughs] No, I would not. I know that! I probably would have been a negligent mother, because there were a great many things in the community that needed attention. I don't know. I wasn't a negligent mother, but then my circumstances were better, and we were able to always cover the home front properly, so I could be active outside the home.

No, I realize now that is the kind of person that I am, with my deep interest in government, which grew out of a deep interest in the history of this country. In our family, there was a great reverence for legislators, because they were carrying out the ideals that were set forth by our founding fathers, you see. (Not mothers)

So it did grow--this interest in seeing how government works. It just had deep roots in me, and I would have had to pursue it.

Morris: That's my sense.

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: But you did take several years off while your daughter was an infant?

Schultz: The first three years that Joyce was a baby, I was a homebody. I devoted my time and attention to diapers, formulas, and housework, and almost developed ulcers. [Laughs]

Morris: Oh, dear.

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: It really bothered you?

Schultz: Well, I'd had that active life before, and here I was, with four walls. It was not very stimulating to be confined to four walls. I think this may be one of the strains that comes on so many women who are homemakers, is that they do need a life outside the domestic scene. Our real progress is coming, I think, in that we're providing that now.

Morris: In 1940, you didn't tuck a toddler under your arm and take it to a Board of Supervisors' meeting?

Schultz: No, sir. You left it home with a babysitter or someone. You did not take it with you.

Deciding to Run for Office

Morris: What precipitated your deciding to become active in the community again?

Schultz: The failure of the council-manager form of government in Mill Valley to show the benefits of which it was capable.

Morris: That's a general kind of a feeling. When was it first suggested, and by whom, that Vera Schultz should run for the City Council?

Schultz: It was suggested in 1946 by a group of women who had been members of our Know Your Town study, several years prior to that.

Morris: Did they have a number of candidates in mind?

Schultz: No, they didn't have a number of candidates. I don't know what went on before they asked me if I would meet with them one day, a group of women. I don't know if I was selected after others were considered, or not. This I do not know. I just know that the suggestion that I should consider candidacy for the City Council in the spring elections came from women who had benefited from that Know Your Town study, and had continued to observe the operation of local government.

They were aware that the boon of having a qualified city manager was not showing the dividends that the freeholders had promised.

Morris: Who was in that group that you met with?

Schultz: Well, I believe Iris Engels was one, and probably Fern Andrews was another. Probably a lady by the name of Helen Yountz, although later she became Helen Anderson. There were a number of Republican women who were in that group who urged me to run and who supported my candidacy.

Later--four years later, in '50--when I ran for a partisan office, they were not able to continue that support, because it was partisan!

Morris: That gets a little awkward.

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: How far ahead of the election was this meeting?

Schultz: Oh, I think it was probably in the latter part of January. Not far ahead.

Morris: How did you decide whether or not to take them up on their offer?

Schultz: Well, the first port of call was a long contemplation on my own part. You must remember that I had been the secretary for the board of freeholders, and had accumulated a considerable amount of information on municipal government. My interest in it had certainly not diminished. If anything, it probably had expanded in the years that I had nothing else to think about [laughs] while doing diapers!

So there was first contemplation. Then there was a conference with my husband, because I certainly did not want to embark on something of that sort without his full concurrence.

Morris: What were Ray's thoughts?

Schultz: Ray was supportive, and he was very supportive. Ray was a good father. He came home gladly every evening to take his little daughter for a walk, and to enjoy her. He was certainly not an indifferent or an impatient father. He enjoyed Joyce.

I remember making the point that the meetings were once a week. They were at night, when he would be home. There would be, of course, a certain amount of daytime activity. In fact, one of the reasons I was urged to run was that I was right here in town. Mostly, we were accustomed to commuter members on the City Council. Very rarely did we have a local businessman. They were commuters, and they were gone all week. This group of women thought that it would be beneficial to have someone around for the manager to confer with, and to do some observing and investigating. That appealed to me, that, yes, I could do that.

My training as a reporter--I loved to get hold of a fragment and start to research it out to get the answers, to write everywhere for information, or telephone, or go. So when Ray was willing, and I had given it full consideration, I embraced the idea.

Campaigning in a Small Town, Women's Support

Morris: Did this committee offer to help, as well as instigate this project?

Schultz: I do not remember that there was any money contributed, but campaigning was very different than in a small town. I think I had to reach about four thousand voters then. Postage was still two cents, as I recall, for a first-class letter. We had two deliveries a day in Mill Valley at that time. [Laughs] Harking back to the good old days!

So what I did--I really didn't have a campaign committee. I just ran my campaign by myself, except that I did have a publicity chairman. That person was named Margo Dick. She'd come to me out of the Democratic Women of Marin. That's where we first met.

Margo was one of those who was interested in my campaign. Now, she didn't live in Mill Valley. She lived on Silvas Island, over there, on the other side of what's now Highway 101, but it didn't exist then. Margo is a first-rate journalist. Margo just volunteered, you know, to sort of help the campaign by getting out publicity pieces and suggestions and this and that.



Vera Schulttz with daughter Joyce
and grandchildren in 1960



Vera Schulttz with husband Ray



Frank Lloyd Wright at 1957 community meeting
on his civic center design



Board of Supervisors, 1955-1960
From left: Vera Schulttz, William
Fusselman, Chairman Walter Castro,
William Goss, and James Marshall

Schultz: Although I didn't have a campaign manager, the closest approach to it was Margo Dick.

Morris: How much publicity was there? How did you produce?

Schultz: You know, I'd really have to look back at the Mill Valley Record, for that time. I did attempt to get ready for today by calling the Mill Valley Record to see if I could come down and go through their old copies of the paper. They said that they're all on microfilm at the library, and I hadn't had time to do that. So I can't tell you what kind of ads we had. We did get out the letter that I mentioned, a personal letter. I think that was about all we did.

Morris: Tell me about the letter. We didn't get that on the tape.

Schultz: I don't have that letter any more. But it was a one-page letter. It was not too long. I told them--

Morris: This was to all four thousand voters?

Schultz: Yes, this was to the voters of Mill Valley, and I think that's the way I started it: To The Voters of Mill Valley. I'm a candidate for election to the City Council, and the reason that I am is that I have been waiting to see the benefit of the council-manager form of government beginning to be evident in Mill Valley. We are not getting what we deserve!

I told them about being a freeholder. I told them about what we had as freeholders determined would be reasonable to expect from the council-manager form of government. I wanted to have an opportunity to make these expectations come true.

Morris: Had you, in the course of contemplating, gone and talked to the current city manager?

Schultz: [Emphatically] Ohhh, yes. I certainly had. I knew Bob Baumberger from the time he came to Mill Valley, and sympathized greatly with his problem. He certainly encouraged me to run. He needed someone who understood the proper relationship between the city council and the manager.

Morris: Could you summarize that?

Schultz: Yes, I think I could summarize it by saying that the elected city council is a group of citizens who are, for the most part, amateurs in government. They are elected to set policy. They set this policy

Schultz: on the basis of expert information that is brought to them by a trained administrator, who is the city manager. They contemplate the choices that confront them in any city problem, and choose a choice of action, out of the choices that are given by the manager.

Having chosen, having established policy, that is the end of their function. They then surrender to the administrator the implementation of the policy they have chosen. It is fatal to good government for individual members of the city council to meddle in administration, to go separately and individually to separate departments, and undermine, in some cases, the effectiveness of their administrator. This is a hard lesson for many newly-elected councilmembers to learn.

Many a good city manager has been sacrificed by this inability of councilmen to know their proper relationship to their appointed administrator.

Morris: Did campaigning in 1946 involve a lot of speech-making in a precinct kind of doorbell-ringing?

Schultz: It involved precinct doorbell-ringing, which I did quite a bit of. It did involve the opportunity of speaking before the Chamber of Commerce, for instance, and different clubs and organizations--those that didn't frown on this kind of political involvement. Some do, you know. They won't listen to a candidate, so you're just lucky when you do get an audience to which to speak.

There weren't a lot of those in those days, Gabrielle. It's quite different now.

Morris: Did you make the arrangements for your speaking engagements yourself, or did you have someone who called around to the Chamber of Commerce and the ladies' associations?

Schultz: I think Margo did that. [Laughs] She's in Europe now, so I can't ask her. She may have forgotten, but Margo was very diligent. I think Margo stimulated some interest, and then reported it. [Laughs]

Morris: What kind of response did you find, when you spoke before a Mill Valley group?

Schultz: I found a favorable response, Gabrielle, because I'm at heart a teacher. I always took them something. They went home knowing more than when they came.

Morris: That's a very good idea. In other words, you did it like a class presentation?

Schultz: I presented it as important information for them to have, whether they voted for me or not. They needed to know this about Mill Valley. I'm sure that it was in appreciation, you know, for-- I wasn't running from a point of view of ego. I was running uphill, because no woman had ever been elected to the City Council before, and I had to deal with the fact that I was asking them to give me an opportunity that no other woman had ever even asked for.

Morris: There hadn't even been any women candidates?

Schultz: There had been one. There had been a woman attorney who lived in Mill Valley who had run for City Council at one time, and had been defeated. There had been one before I did it.

Morris: Was it a long time since she ran?

Schultz: Well, I wouldn't say it was long. I think it wouldn't have been more than two or four years since she was a candidate, and was not successful.

Morris: How many other candidates were there?

Schultz: Let's see. There were, as I remember, five candidates.

Morris: For how many vacancies?

Schultz: For two vacancies. I'd have to check that, Gabrielle, to be certain, but it was a contested election.

Morris: In Mill Valley, if there are two vacancies, are they won by the top two vote-getters? Or were there three of you running for one seat and two for the other?

Schultz: No, the top vote-getters would be elected, because we don't run by district, just a general election. There was another freeholder running at the same time I did. I helped encourage him to run, because I felt we had to get people on there who understood the council-manager form of government, and wanted to see it work.

I helped to persuade Don Sias, who had been a freeholder with me. He won, and I won.

Morris: Did you run as a slate at all?

Schultz: Not as a slate, no. We ran as individuals. There were others-- let's see. I think Charles Sloan ran in that election. No, he was a holdover. There were two vacancies, and Sias and I were elected to those two vacancies.

Morris: To what do you attribute your success?

Schultz: I attribute my successful campaign to the wide support among the women in Mill Valley, whom I knew, you see, fellow clubwoman, as a PTA-er, as a League of Women Voters, as a recreation worker, and all that. The many ramifications of my activity in town had given me a wide acquaintanceship in the town.

They knew that I had no ulterior motive. There was no money attached to this, you know. City councilmen were not paid anything at that time.

Morris: Not even expenses?

Schultz: Not even expenses, no. There was no money attached. I wasn't taking anything away from anyone else. Then I was diligent! I mean, I did do a lot of door-to-door.

Morris: Did you cover pretty much the whole town in the campaign?

Schultz: Yes, I did. I knocked on their doors, said who I was and why I was running. People were at home in those days. [Laughs] They're not now!

Morris: Did you do this yourself, or did you have some recruits?

Schultz: No, I had no recruits. I felt that the people wanted to see the candidate, you know, not a proxy.

Morris: I'm interested that you say that you felt that the wide support of women was a factor in your election.

Schultz: I do. I do.

Morris: Was there much of a feminist feeling around?

Schultz: No, no, it wasn't a feminist feeling, but it was a sisterly support. I mean, they knew me.

Morris: Yes, so it's a personal acquaintanceship. Did you feel that you were a feminist at that point?

Schultz: Yes, I've always been a feminist.

Morris: In the militant sense?

Schultz: Not in the militant way. I've been a feminist undoubtedly because the Nineteenth Amendment was adopted at a time in my life when I was very, very aware of what the suffragists had gone through. I remember being a senior in high school when Aurelia Henry Reinhardt came to Reno High School, where I was a student, to address the women.

She spoke about the importance of what was happening in our nation at that time, on the Nineteenth Amendment, which hadn't yet been ratified. This was in the spring that she was there. She sharpened our interests in whether it would be ratified, and then it was ratified on the 26th of August of that year. Among the things I dove into as a freshman in college was finding out about the suffragists, and what made them do what they had done, and so on.

When I say I've always been, I shouldn't say "always," but I should say--

Morris: --at a very early age!

Schultz: That I have been since 1920! [Laughs]

Morris: That's a pretty tender age for awareness, I would say. Many people don't even start thinking about those things until much later in life.

Schultz: Yes, that's probably true. I think it's partly a historical accident, you see, that it did happen.

Morris: You were at the right age.

Schultz: I was at the right age, and a dynamic woman, the president of a college--and there were few women that were presidents of college, you know--the whole combination of events. She was statuesque, she was dynamic, she had a message for us girls, and it sank in!

Morris: Was she recruiting you, in effect?

Schultz: It was recruiting women to come to Mills College. I didn't know that at the time! [Laughs] I would gladly have followed her there, if I could!

Morris: That's a marvelous description.

Election and Denial of the Mayorship

Morris: It's pretty good, isn't it, to get elected your first time out, as it were?

Schultz: Phenomenal! And I got eighty-six percent of all votes cast!

Morris: That's beautiful.

Schultz: It was phenomenal. At that time, it was the highest personal vote that had been tallied for a candidate in a Mill Valley election. This factor would have determined, according to the custom at the time, that I would have been mayor. It was a custom on the Council that the one who got the highest vote was named mayor.

Morris: I take it it didn't happen. I know it didn't happen. I read the Mill Valley transcript. [Laughs] Why didn't it happen? If that was the procedure, how did the rest of the Council get around that?

Schultz: They got together on the outside, before the Council took its seat at the next Council meeting. They got together on the outside and decided which one of them would be mayor.

Morris: And they came to the Council meeting and announced it?

Schultz: And came to the Council meeting and elected the mayor, among themselves. I mean, that's the way it's done.

Morris: At your first meeting of the City Council?

Schultz: That's right.

Morris: Did you have any glimmer of this?

Schultz: Oh, yes. I knew about it.

Morris: Was there nothing you could do about it?

Schultz: Nothing at all you could do about it. How could you? You could invoke tradition. You could say: You have always, ALWAYS accorded the highest vote-getter the mayorship. But here they had not only the first woman on the City Council, but that she should be mayor? I mean, [laughs] this was intolerable! Oh, boy.

Morris: It sounds almost like the kind of thing that you'd been observing in Sacramento.

Schultz: Yes. The agreements that are reached quietly in a social way, outside the halls of government.

Morris: Nowadays a woman in that position would be likely to make an issue of being denied the mayor's spot. Why didn't you?

Schultz: I didn't make a fuss because I thought it would be harmful to future women as candidates. And I didn't want to set up antagonism with the men on the council right at the beginning of my term in office. It was a deliberate decision.*

Morris: But you did follow through on staying in touch with the city manager, and being available during working hours when he needed advice?

Schultz: Yes, and in fact, I remember making many journeys around the county with him, with respect to our southern Marin sanitation district, and in which he, as an engineer, educated me and enlightened me on the value that could be gained from regional disposal of waste in southern Marin. We had had the good fortune of the public doing a sensible thing. They set up a sanitation district, not a sanitary district.

The sanitation district that had been voted in by all the people of southern Marin would have permitted regional disposal of waste for this whole area. By law, the governing board of the sanitation district was designated to be the chairman of the Board of Supervisors-- in this case, Fred Bagshaw, who had been the former mayor of Mill Valley, and a councilman here--and the mayors of the two cities--there were only two then, Sausalito and Mill Valley.

The mayors of these two cities, with the chairman of the Board of Supervisors, comprised the governing body. Now, the mayor, who had been selected in that caucus--

Morris: Do you want to give him a name, just for the record?

Schultz: Sure I will! Charles Sloan.

*In 1976 Mary Henderson resigned as a Redwood City Council member over the council's refusal to elect her as mayor, although with ten years' service she was the senior council member. After fifty-eight ballots, the council elected Marguerite Leipzig mayor. San Francisco Chronicle, May 12, 1976.

Morris: He was the holdover, too.

Schultz: He was the holdover, and he became the mayor, by abandoning their principles. [Laughs] He was an engineer, and he got into personal differences of opinion with the engineer that was hired by the sanitation district, Harry N. Jenks.

Morris: A professional rivalry?

Schultz: Yes, this is where I learned that engineers can be as much prima donnas as prima donnas in the opera. This conflict caused the final dissolution of the sanitation district. The poor old public was so befuddled by the differing advice that was given by their mayor, for instance, from Mill Valley, and the mayor of Sausalito, whose name I don't remember now, and the chairman of the Board of Supervisors. They were all on different wave lengths.

Engineers Jenks and Chairman Bagshaw opposed the solution that was favored by the mayor of Mill Valley. I was a strong supporter of the sanitation district and of regional disposal, and spoke on it, and wrote about it. I had gone to Lake Tahoe for a little vacation, and came back to open the Mill Valley Record--you should get a copy of this, because it's very interesting--to find that a majority of the City Council had taken a position against the sanitation district solution of regional disposal.

They wanted to terminate the sanitation district, and let each region go its own way. I remember being so furious that they would do this, apparently as an official act, you see, in the absence of the proponent! It didn't seem fair! I wrote a letter to the Record, putting forth my indignation and the arguments why we should still stay in, but it lost.

We got out of the sanitation district, and the result is that we have many sanitary districts all on Richardson Bay, which the State Water Pollution Control Board now says have to terminate. It's going to cost the taxpayers a tremendous amount to rectify the mistake that was made way back then.

Morris: That's discouraging. We're about at the end of a tape, do you want to get up and stretch your legs?

Schultz: Would you like some more iced tea?

Morris: Thank you.

[End Tape 3, side B. Begin Tape 4.]

Relations with County Government: Assessment Practices,
Health Services

Morris: Your Mill Valley interviews give a good account of your work on the City Council and the internal workings of city government. I'd like to concentrate on the interactions between city and county government. There seem to have been recurring difficulties over tax assessment practices. At one point, were there grand jury findings that led Mill Valley to hire its own assessor?

Schultz: Well, we had an assessor. You see, when I first went on the City Council, the city councils of all the little cities in Marin had their own assessors. Then there was the county assessor. The county appraisal of values differed from the local assessor's appraisal of values. We always had two bills to pay--the city assessor's bill and the county.

The difference in appraised value was such that the City Council hired its own tax factors to appraise the validity of the difference between the local assessor and the county assessor. It was later, when I was on the Board of Supervisors, that a grand jury investigation of the county assessor's office resulted in charges against the county assessor--the same one that the City of Mill Valley had had the altercation with.

One of my first acts as a member of the Board of Supervisors was to oppose the budget of the county assessor on the basis that his methods of appraisal were not consistent with state Board of Equalization standards. My information, that made my resistance to the budgetary requests so strong, stemmed back to my years as a city councilman, you see.

Morris: It was in 1948 that the grand jury raised the issue of inequities in assessments.

Schultz: That is an accurate statement. That was a countywide inequity.

Morris: But Mill Valley already had its own separate assessor?

Schultz: At that time, they did. It was only after I went on the Council that we began the policy of having the county do our assessing and tax collecting, and did away, then, with the office of assessor. By doing that, the city manager saved the city ten thousand dollars in that year's budget.

Morris: Did assessment by the county result in a great change in the local assessments for city purposes?

Schultz: Yes, it did. That is what eventually led to another grand jury--

Morris: The grand jury pursued that?

Schultz: Yes. The final, almost, indictment.

Morris: Were there other areas in which--on the City Council you had considerable contact with the county, or county influence on city government? I'm thinking of services that the county provided that the city didn't.

Schultz: Yes. There was the matter of sanitary inspection of food handling outlets and restaurants. In the old days, and in fact when I went on the City Council, our city clerk (who was elected) was delegated as health officer. He had no medical training of any sort, but he was designated as health officer.

I remember that Colonel Dougherty and I--he was a member of the City Council--as individual members of the Council, made an inspection of our own of the restaurants and bakeries and so forth in our town, because we wanted to make a contract with the county health department, for sanitary inspection by qualified people. We were so aghast at what we found, we couldn't eat out any more! [Laughs]

It did lead to the city being one of the very first, again, to initiate contractual arrangements with county professionals. We did that with the Humane Society, too, with the licensing of animals and the solution of animal problems.

Morris: Was there much use of the county health service by Mill Valley residents? By then, there was a county health department?

Schultz: There was a county health department. There was a well baby clinic which met regularly at the Outdoor Art Club, and local mothers used that.

Planning, Zoning, and Early Conservationists

Morris: How about planning? Was that yet a well-established county function and did it affect the city to any extent?

Schultz: The county planning staff was stretched beyond its capacities with county problems. There was at that time a great lack of communication between municipalities and the county. There were very few reciprocal arrangements. In fact, Ted Adsit, the city manager that we hired to replace Bob Baumberger, first came in with these creative new ideas-- let the county do it! Let's contract with them, and avail ourselves of their staff, and get the services, pay for them, and reduce our own overhead. Also eliminate duplication.

We did that on assessing and tax collecting, health services, food inspection, and dog licensing. But it didn't extend to planning.

Morris: I was interested, in Dr. Radford's book again, to find that the county planning director was a woman.

Schultz: Yes. Mary Summers, who became one of my very good friends. In fact, one of the charges made against me by my opponent, the year that I was defeated, was that I was too supportive of the planning director.

Morris: But you didn't get to know her in your City Council days?

Schultz: Yes, I did. Yes. She has often remarked to me, in the days since, that the first time I came to see her, and began asking her questions about zoning, I wanted her to quote to me the law, where I'd find the law that sustains this decision on zoning, for instance. She'd never had anyone who'd forced her, you know, to substantiate the decisions that were made by referring back to the law. She told me this afterward.

I made her scratch around [laughs] and fortify herself!

Morris: So you went to the county to get information?

Schultz: To use in the city. That's right.

Morris: Were there county zoning regulations that covered or included Mill Valley?

Schultz: They did not include or cover Mill Valley, because of the difference between municipal law and county, which operates under state law. There were many points of conflict. I'll enumerate one. The City of Mill Valley was very desirous that we avoid strip zoning where businesses hopscotched down a main thoroughfare. We had Miller Avenue, which leads to Tamalpais High School. The lower portion of it was outside the city limits of Mill Valley, at least the portion that the high school was on.

The zoning request came in that would have begun business development on--we'll call it the south side--of Miller Avenue. It was outside the jurisdiction of the city. We could not pass an ordinance that would control it. The county had the authority.

Morris: Did that mean that you couldn't issue a permit under the zoning ordinance for Miller?

Schultz: Oh, yes. We had no jurisdiction. The permits were given by the county, the decisions were made by the county, and all we could do would be to present our point of view. If we could make it prevail, well and good. If we could not, we lost out.

In this case, the county did respect the stated desires of Mill Valley city, and acted accordingly. The applicant for the use of the land took the decision to court. Judge Butler--

Morris: He's an old figure in Marin?

Schultz: Yes, whose home had been in Mill Valley, and he had been a councilman here. He reversed the decision of the planning commission and the future fate of Miller Avenue was sealed by Judge Butler.

Morris: Why do you think he reversed the decision?

Schultz: Well, there are some judges who are hostile to the planning concept, and who believe that individual property rights are paramount.

Morris: That if you own the land, whatever you want to do with it, you should have a right to do?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: That sets up an interesting kind of tension between the judicial branch and the executive and legislative, at the local level.

Schultz: Yes, it does. I couldn't help but harken back to that when the City of Petaluma refused to accept the decision of a judge, you know, and carried it to the Supreme Court, and he reversed the decision!

Morris: Of the lower judge?

Schultz: Yes! And Petaluma won! They won their right to plan for their own growth. It was a great victory! I'm delighted! Maybe if we had appealed--but you see, it was outside of our jurisdiction, and would the county spend county funds to appeal? No, they didn't.

Morris: How did Mary Summers come to be appointed? She was the first woman in a county job, in fact, at that level.

Schultz: True. Mary had been on the planning staff of Contra Costa County, and the very creation of a planning department in the county of Marin was the result of much groundwork done by Caroline Livermore, who was one of the early conservationists, and a Mrs. Evers, and a number of others--women conservationists in the county who saw the importance of the beginning to regulate the use of land. There hadn't been any regulation, up to that time.

They recognized, 'way back then, the importance and the value of preserving open space. It was their efforts, actually, that created what is now Stinson Beach State Park (it was at first a county park) and Samuel Taylor State Park (it was originally a county park). They were the ones who finally persuaded the Board of Supervisors to create a planning department. They recruited for the--well, the first incumbent for that job was a man, Hugh Pomeroy.

Morris: Mary Summers was appointed in 1941--so there was a planning department before then?

Schultz: Yes. The planning department was created before that. I think that it was still only a few years old when Mary became an applicant to fill the job of the director of the planning department. She was appointed by the Board of Supervisors. She was a very, very good planning director.

Morris: Had she, by any chance, had her training at the University of California?

Schultz: I really don't know where Mary had her training.

Morris: I'm very curious, because in all this story of Bay Area conservation and development, there are a group of professional people trained in planning and government administration, who all came out of the University at about the same time, about '38 and '39. I was curious as to whether Mary Summers was part of this group.

Schultz: She may have been. I just don't know.

Morris: She was still active in 1971 when Dr. Radford was doing her book?

Schultz: Yes, and still is. She's still active in the Conservation League.

Morris: That's one of the oldest conservation groups in the state, isn't it?

Schultz: Yes, I think it is.

Morris: Had you been involved in conservation issues or awareness by this time?

Schultz: No. I really became actively involved in conservation when I was on the Board of Supervisors, and concerned with planning decisions. I began to be invited, as a supervisor, to come to the Conservation League annual dinners. My dedication to the Conservation League dates from then. I was never a member of it.

Morris: Was there a planning function, or a planning department, here in Mill Valley?

Schultz: Not for many years after that. There was not, when I was on the City Council. We had a planning commission. We had appointed commissioners, who worked without benefit of staff.

Now, from time to time, the city appropriated money for studies by professionals, that then became the property of the planning commission. But we did not have paid staff. That came after my years on the Council.

A New Majority and Replacement of the City Manager

Morris: Once you got through this sticky business of having Mr. Sloan become mayor, how did you and the other councilmembers get along and work together?

Schultz: Well, there was the hostility that remained from the fight over the sanitation district. It wasn't hostility, but it was certainly strained relations, because I deeply resented the failure of a good piece of machinery, because of personal differences of opinion. Then I didn't think that they should have undertaken to, what I considered, misinform the public, in the absence of those who had a voice on the other side.

Schultz: So, there never was a warm relationship between me and Mayor Sloan. In fact, he was one of the men who ran against me for the Board of Supervisors, or against whom I ran, however you want to put it.

Morris: When you first ran in '52?

Schultz: That's right. Yes, he was one of the candidates.

Morris: Where was Don Sias on the sanitation district question?

Schultz: He disagreed, as I recall, with my point of view on the sanitation district. It was Colonel Dougherty and I who were on the side of the sanitation district. Sias and Sloan and, I think it was at that time, Griffith, were on the other side. It was three to two.

Morris: Did that kind of split or grouping continue on a number of issues, or did it change from time to time?

Schultz: It changed, and it changed soon, because there was a vacancy on the City Council, and the Council appointed Harrison Leppo, who was chairman of the planning commission, to the City Council. Harrison Leppo and I--

Morris: Who left the Council?

Schultz: It must have been Griffiths. Or maybe it was Sloan. Somebody left.

Morris: The colonel?

Schultz: No, it wasn't Colonel Dougherty. It was either Sloan or Griffith who left. I don't remember which it was at that time. One of them left, and we appointed Harrison Leppo.

Harrison Leppo was very much in harmony with my perspectives on council-manager government. Soon after he came on the Council, giving us a strong majority--that is, with Sias, myself, and Leppo--we advocated a change of city manager. Not that we didn't like Bob Baumberger, but because his effectiveness had been corroded by the put-downs that he had had, through the controversy on the sanitation district. I started to tell you how I made these trips around with him. He enlightened me on the engineering practicalities, and the regional solutions, and so on. I felt so bad for him that he was never even asked his opinion by the mayor.

Morris: Even though he, too, had engineering training?

Schultz: Yes. He was always treated as an unimportant person.

Morris: How did he feel about the suggestion that he find employment elsewhere?

Schultz: Well, I'm sure it was a deep disappointment to him. I'm sure he benefited himself by leaving, but, like any man, it is a failure to be relieved of your position. It certainly wasn't his fault, but it required a certain courage of decision on the part of the council to say: It isn't working.

Morris: It certainly does.

Schultz: Yes, and so we had to do radical surgery.

Morris: How difficult was it, then, to decide on a replacement? There'd apparently been different ideas about what to do with a city manager, and how you select one.

Schultz: And how you select one! [Laughs]

Well, we approached it in a very business-like fashion. We appealed to the League of California Cities for assistance in recruiting a new city manager. They helped us to devise an application, and helped us to publicize it, and advertise it in the League of California Cities publication. We got a lot of answers.

Then we had a committee of the City Council. Leppo and I were both on the committee, interviewing.

Morris: How many applicants?

Schultz: I don't remember how many applicants there were. There were quite a number, but there was no disagreement on the committee about the outstanding applicant being Ted Adsit. He had not been a city manager prior to this. He had been head of planning in Pasadena, but prior to that, Adsit had had extensive experience in the Hawaiian Islands in planning and management.

We were impressed with his originality of ideas. He was not an impressive man to look at. He was small and unimpressive. He really had an idea a minute! He left a legacy to Mill Valley from the years that he was here, because he vigorously began to recommend, recommend, recommend, and substantiate the validity of his recommendations. I've already told you what some of them were: Have the county do this!

Schultz: Mill Valley was the first city in Marin County to adopt the council-manager form of government by an ordinance voted upon by the people, so that it couldn't be meddled with. Now all of the eleven cities of Marin are using the manager principal. They all do it a little differently. The ordinance is not the same for any of them.

Morris: I believe it.

Schultz: But they all use the principle.

Morris: It's fascinating how great the variety is in the way that different localities will solve essentially the same problem.

Schultz: It certainly is. Did you notice that, in the last couple of weeks, Belvedere has proposed making their chief of police the city manager?

Morris: Is the thinking that the chief of police would have a better grasp of dealing with the controversies of the community than the city manager. I would think that might depend on the personalities.

Schultz: And on the town.

Appointments

Morris: How did the Council go about appointing a new council member when there was a vacancy?

Schultz: Well, it was a matter of considering potential candidates, and then arriving at agreement on one. It just takes a majority, as you know.

Morris: Were there a number of citizens who, knowing there was a vacancy, applied, or were there suggested names?

Schultz: No, there were not. As I recall, when the vacancy occurred, the City Council proceeded to fill the vacancy. They didn't invite applications, as they do today. We considered it our duty to fill the slot, and we did it!

Morris: How long did that take when Mr. Leppo was appointed?

Schultz: Well, I don't remember the interval, but it didn't take long, because a council is crippled by a shortage of members. I think it was only a couple of weeks, from the time that we knew there would be a vacancy until we had it filled. I'd have to check that.

Morris: Were the people considered usually already on a board or commission?

Schultz: Well, it seems almost a matter of record that council members are developed on planning commissions. [Laughs] It just seems to follow, as the night the day, that once they're involved in planning in the city, that they want to move on to the policy-making side.

Morris: The other side of that is, who gets appointed to the planning commission in the first place? How does the City Council make appointments to boards and commissions?

Schultz: By going out to recruit eligible people, people that we agreed had something to contribute. Now, there must have been people who presented themselves. I just don't remember how they did it, because there wasn't this policy of establishing kind of a "talent bank," you know, of citizens.

Morris: In some communities, the League of Women Voters and other organizations do some of that scouting, and submit names either when they know there's a vacancy, or periodically send in a list of people to be considered. Does that happen?

Schultz: It does happen at county level, and it happens now at city level. It does.

Morris: Did you make individual appointments, or did the whole Council vote?

Schultz: It was the whole Council. It was by agreement. I mean, it wasn't always unanimous agreement on the best candidate, but as I recall about Harrison Leppo, there was certainly no disagreement.

He later became mayor of Mill Valley, and served for a number of terms.

Morris: Meaning that he always got the highest number of votes?

Schultz: No. I think that tradition died when my election took place. [Laughs] It isn't the highest number any more.

Schultz: Now, for instance, this last election, I sponsored the candidacy of a woman to be on the City Council. We had one, and I felt that we would do well to have two. So I worked hard in the campaign of Flora Pratzsker. She came in leading the field! They didn't make her mayor. [Laughter]

Morris: That's unkind.

Schultz: Well, you see, that tradition died with me! New policies prevail.

Morris: There's a precedent for ignoring it. What kinds of people did you look for to suggest for vacant seats on boards and commissions?

Schultz: First, I looked for those whose activities had demonstrated that they had the interest of the community at heart. Those who are themselves active in the community, because that is so important. They have to want to do it.

And then, certain criteria of mine were educational. I wanted them to be prepared to make a sound contribution. Another was balance. I didn't want to see the people appointed to public bodies who are inclined to go overboard emotionally, if I can put it that way. They have to be emotionally balanced, so they can be objective (Maybe I should put it that way). Objective people.

Constituents

Morris: When you say "balanced," I wonder if the Mill Valley population was heterogeneous enough so that there was a question of balance of men or women, or different ethnic groups, or old residents and newcomers, or anything like that you considered.

Schultz: Well, I recollect that there were not ethnic problems. There was a kind of recognition that the residents of Mill Valley would be happier served by someone they'd known for quite awhile, rather than a newcomer.

Morris: In Mill Valley, when does a newcomer become an established resident?

Schultz: Well, I ran for election to the City Council in 1946. I had come here in 1928. After eighteen years I was still a newcomer! [Laughter] Does that tell you anything?

Morris: That tells me about 1946, so that the appointments were the same thing then.

Had the population begun to grow or change noticeably by '46?

Schultz: Yes, it had. In fact, I think that we began to depart from the sleepy-village status with the war. You see, the building of Marinship and Marin City and the influx of war workers greatly changed the character of the county, and has continued to do so. It wasn't just the building of the [Golden Gate] bridge that did it.

The war, and all the people that it brought to Marin was another important factor.

Morris: I would think so. The population increases--I did a little tallying--were sort of geometrical in Marin County, from the twenties up through recently.

Schultz: But the growth spurt took place in the years of the fifties. There was tremendous in-migration in those years.

Morris: In those years, it was generally considered to be a good thing, wasn't it?

Schultz: In-migration? Yes! It was welcomed! It really was! Now they want to put a lock on the bridge to keep them out.

Morris: Did you have much contact with individual citizens, either wanting information or advice, or calling you up at home to tell you just what they thought of? What the Council was doing?

Schultz: Yes, a great deal. This, you see, was one of the dividends that they expected. They had somebody there to take their call, if they had something to ask about or something to complain about, or a service to be rendered. Yes, I had tremendous--we had two telephones, I recall.

Morris: Really?

Schultz: It wasn't just an extension. There were two telephone numbers. [Laughs] I mean, Ray had to have it some of the time.

Morris: Was there a similar number of interesting council meetings--where lots of people come?

Schultz: It depended on the issue. We had standing room only on garbage, sewage, street repairs, flood control--there were certain issues. And then occasionally, there would be something else, but then when there wasn't, the attendance was very modest.

Morris: How much time did it take, roughly, to be a city councilman, by your standards?

Schultz: By my standards, it took a great deal of time, because I believed in finding out what other cities were doing, and I wasn't content to just consider our agenda each week. If there was something on the agenda that indicated that I might learn a lot by calling up other city councilmen, or going to some other town, I did it.

[End Tape 4, side A.]

VI PARTISAN POLITICS: CANDIDATE FOR ASSEMBLY, 1950

[Interview 4: 6 April 1976]

[Begin Tape 5, side A.]

Supporters and Strategy

Morris: You were telling me that Roger Kent was running for Congress the same year you ran for the Assembly.

Schultz: Yes, he was. That was the first year that he ran for Congress.

Morris: Was there any kind of overlap or joint appearances or anything like that?

Schultz: Well, we often encountered each other at candidates' nights, and I remember one in El Verano, in Sonoma County, one night, where a phenomenal thing happened--phenomenal to me--and even the newspapers commented on this. This was a tremendous meeting, and I was confronting Mr. McCollister with my specifics.

I was hitting very hard, which always made my husband uncomfortable.

Morris: Did he go with you?

Schultz: Oh, yes! He often went to candidates' nights with me, so he was there that night in the audience. Mr. McCollister answered in kind. He got rough. When Roger got up, he took on McCollister! I mean, Roger was running for Congress! He had nothing to do with the assembly contest, but he was so angry!

I've always loved him for that, because he shouldn't have done that. I mean, it didn't help his candidacy at all, to sort of be the knight who comes to the rescue of the beleaguered lady!

Morris: Did you feel that Roger's response was one of gallantry rather than going to the issues?

Schultz: Well, his response was one of rising to the defense of a woman under attack, by what he considered an unworthy opponent. So he entered the fray! It was just an episode, but it was extraordinary for one candidate to enter another's.

Morris: Was there a sense, in Mr. McCollister's attack, that he was arguing against your candidacy because you were a woman?

Schultz: Yes. Yes, there was. The lack of experience he was pointing out-- look how much experience he had had, which was true. He'd been up there, at that time, ten years, I believe it was, that he was in there, and he continued for ten or twelve more.

But he called to account the fact that his experience was of a great deal more value, whereas I was like a--he didn't use this term, as I remember, but I was like a Carry Nation that just wants to get in there and wreck things. She doesn't know what she's doing. She just wants to muddy the waters, to stir things up.

Morris: And the basis to that was that you were a woman?

Schultz: Yes. There was a lot of sort of sneering at a "housewife," [laughs] a housewife becoming a candidate to replace a seasoned veteran of the legislature.

Morris: How did your audiences take that kind of thing, did you feel?

Schultz: There was a lot of uproar that night. There were those who felt that it was a good show and they enjoyed it a lot, there were those that felt that it was unfortunate that Roger had taken the cudgels up on my behalf, and wished he hadn't, and there was appreciation on the part of some of my supporters who thought that that was fine, that they wished people had done more of that. So there was mixed reactions.

Morris: How did you put a campaign committee together? This district covered parts of two counties at the time.

Schultz: After I had gotten the consent of the Democratic central committee in Marin, I went to Sonoma County, to appear before the central committee of Sonoma County with the same perspective. I asked them if they had a candidate that they wished to enter against McCollister. They said no. In the case of Sonoma County, I knew no one on the central committee. I had not met any of them.

Schultz: I had told them my local record, of my experience at the legislature as an advocate for the League. I told them my reason for seeking their endorsement. They, too, gave me their blessing. They encouraged me to file. They said that they would, of course, keep hands off in the primary, which is supposed to be what central committees do. They're not supposed to help candidates until the primaries are over.

Then, whoever the voters have nominated, then the central committees are supposed to come in and help establish headquarters and give assistance. That was the theory of it.

Morris: So then what do you do, beginning in the primary?

Schultz: Well, having been encouraged by two central committees to become the Democratic candidate for the Assembly in 1950, then what? Well, they're not supposed to help. So it's entirely up to the candidate. So this candidate did not receive help in this way.

Roger Kent and his family own a building called the Keystone Building in Mill Valley. He gave me--free--an office there for my headquarters, which was a big assist. It gave us a downtown exposure where we could have a sign. It gave us a central place from which we could function, and was a great contribution to my campaign.

Then, how did we get money to begin to buy the other paraphernalia of a campaign, like bumper strips, and quarter cards, and a brochure, and so on? Well, we had a campaign committee meeting in our headquarters, and it was [laughs] very hard. The first decision we had to make was to get a campaign manager. I came into the campaign without a campaign manager.

There were suggestions to this one or that one and the other, to see if they would take the campaign. As I remember, we selected a man who lived in the county, who had had experience. He was there. I had asked him to be there, if he was interested.

When he saw what a shoestring operation it was, he declined.

Morris: Had he been doing this professionally for other candidates?

Schultz: He had, and he saw that we were really coming up from behind. So he declined, and we then turned to a woman. She had been a reporter on the [San Rafael] Independent-Journal, and was very interested in

Schultz: politics. She was not disconcerted by the fact that we didn't have any money, though she did need to be paid. She accepted the assignment. There was a man there that night who had been the former partner of Assemblyman McCollister in the insurance business in Mill Valley. His name was Emil Pohli.

Morris: How had Mr. Pohli become disenchanted enough with Mr. McCollister to stop being his partner, and then to help your campaign? Did you ever ask him about that.

Schultz: I have never known the cause of the trouble between McCollister and Pohli, but whatever it was it left Mr. Pohli a very angry man.

Emil Pohli said: I will put up the money to buy five thousand buttons, which your ladies can sell for a dollar apiece or whatever they can get for them, to help finance your campaign. So that was our first contribution. I must say that I was not frightened by the fact that we had no visible source of support, because there in the background was my husband, and his checkbook! I knew he would not let me down, and he didn't.

Morris: Did he set any kind of ceiling about: We can put so much money into this fund?

Schultz: No, he didn't. It was an open-ended thing: If we have to have it, we'll get it.

Morris: Was he treasurer of your campaign?

Schultz: No, he was not. He had no official connection with the campaign, except that he was interested in it, and he was always there. I know that those who ran the campaign respected his businessman's judgment on certain things. They'd get ideas for things that he would say: No, I don't think you'd better try to do that. He knew that he was the one that was going to pay for it.

So at any rate, that was the way it began. The buttons did sell, and people began to make contributions.

Morris: Did you have a finance chairman?

Schultz: Oh, indeed we had a finance chairman! Guess who it was! It was Sada Stevens, who was from the central committee, and knew who the sources of money were--that is, the labor unions, the Brotherhood of Engineers--the different organizations that habitually contribute to candidates. I mean, she knew where to go, and it was to her that the emissary from Mr. Samish came, as the campaign warmed up, and they saw my attack beginning to snowball.

Schultz: In the number of coffees that we were having, at every coffee we got some money, and more coffees, and endorsers, and we got this-that-and-the-other. It was building.

Now this is the phenomenal thing, Gabrielle, to me. Here is a relatively unknown person, who goes into a county, and is able to get support.

Morris: Who did you have organizing the coffees, and getting word out that they were being held?

Schultz: I met a young attorney up there (who later ran for Congress after he had the experience in my campaign [laughs]), and he got interested in things. His name was Paul Golis. He and his wife Gloria, whom he called Glo, had an office in downtown Santa Rosa. That young man just threw himself into my campaign. He would make so many trips on my behalf in Sonoma, getting support here, and there.

I remember being up there one night in the home of a supporter who formerly had lived in Marin. They had a house in the Russian River area, and I was staying overnight with her, because I was campaigning in the area. Here, about ten o'clock at night, is a knock at the door. We were just about to retire, and it was Paul Golis. He had tracked me down, and he was just full of ideas of where I should go the next day, and what I should do, and so on.

I was so impressed! I mean, here is a man with a wife and family who is going through the night trying to find a stray candidate in order to help that campaign. That's the kind of, I'll say, citizen participation that is occasionally engendered in a grass-roots campaign. People just get caught up in the challenge of unseating an unworthy person! [Laughs]

Morris: There was this general feeling about Mr. McCollister?

Schultz: There was a widespread feeling, yes, indeed there was.

Morris: This assembly district included all the way up to Santa Rosa, and over to the Russian River.

Schultz: Oh, it was the whole county of Sonoma.

Morris: Good heavens!

Schultz: These two counties shared one assemblyman. We each had a senator, but we shared an assemblyman, so I had the two counties to cover. The territory is much less now, of course, thank goodness! It should be.

Morris: Mr. Golis sounds like he might have been a key Sonoma County person.

Schultz: He was, and there were some other wonderful people that were not Democrats. There were Gregory and Harriet Jones in the town of Sonoma. They live in one of the original adobe houses in Sonoma. She had a little guest house in the garden, and that was where I stayed as her guest when I was campaigning in that area. She gave coffee after coffee, and got all her friends to give coffees all through that area, in order to bring people to meet me. Then some of the women's organizations, like the Business and Professional Women's Club. (At that time, they were not assisting candidates. Their policy had not yet been adopted, which prevails now, that they do select qualified women and support them with money and other kinds of help. But not then.)

What they could do was to provide a platform. They had meetings; I recall one in Santa Rosa that the Business and Professional Women's Club put on, and one in the town of Sebastopol. There was a Business and Professional Women's group there. They put on a meeting at which I was the speaker. This helped a great deal.

Morris: Finish the story about the emissary of Mr. Samish.

Schultz: Well, I mentioned that our campaign was rather snowballing, and the [Sonoma] Press-Democrat came out with an editorial of endorsement. There were letters being printed in support of my campaign, and so on. So apparently Mr. Samish paid attention.

He sent a person, I do not know whom. I do not know the name of the person who came to Sada Stevens, my treasurer, and said that they would be willing to put money into my campaign. There would be, however, the proviso that I would not, as they put it: Axe around in other peoples' business! [Laughs] If I won, I was to mind my p's and q's, and I would be tolerated! That's the message I got.

Morris: In other words, they were prepared to have you win?

Schultz: They were. They were covering the contingency, I'm sure. The word had come to me that Samish was disgusted with McCollister, that he really had no respect for him, but that he still owned him. It may be that that, too, was it, but that is conjecture on my part, that that had some bearing on the fact that--

Schultz: But no! He states quite frankly in his book,* if you recall, that it was a matter of just cold-blooded political expediency, for them to put money into both campaigns, in district after district. It was to their advantage to be able to claim some loyalty.

Morris: How did you deal with the suggestion, when Sada brought it to you?

Schultz: Well, I remember it was right in this living room that she brought this news.

Morris: Just to you, or to a campaign committee meeting?

Schultz: Just to me. She wanted me to make the decision, and so she brought it to me. I said I didn't want any Samish help, that this is what I was fighting against, that I thought that the ownership of members of the legislature by powerful lobbyists was one of the most destructive things that existed in our state government. I didn't want to have any part of it. So we turned it down.

It was after that that there was an accelerated campaign on McCollister's part. He began to use airplanes with symbols written in the sky.

Morris: Smoke-writing?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: I'll be darned!

Schultz: They also began to shower leaflets down in the towns, and they had many campaigning tactics that were far beyond our means. All we could do was to have our coffees, and get out our quarter cards, and distribute our bumper strips, and campaign door-to-door, and try to build support in that way.

Occasionally we'd get on local radio.

Morris: Were these paid spot announcements, or were there interviews?

Schultz: Interviews and spot announcements. We had spot announcements.

*The Secret Boss of California, Arthur H. Samish and Bob Thomas, Crown, New York, 1971.

Red-baiting Opponent

Morris: At what point did McCollister use the Red-baiting tactic that I've heard about?

Schultz: That entered the campaign immediately after I was on the platform in Santa Rosa one night, with Helen Gahagan Douglas.

Morris: Was she campaigning?

Schultz: She was campaigning for the Senate against Richard Nixon. She was a member of Congress, you remember.

Morris: That's right.

Schultz: She was campaigning for the U.S. Senate. There was a candidates' night in Santa Rosa--a big dinner. It was a Democratic fund-raiser for her. Maybe it was for the central committee. I don't remember. It was a Democratic fund-raiser.

Morris: Partly for Roger [Kent], too?

Schultz: Yes, we were all going to benefit from it.

Morris: Including you?

Schultz: Including me.

Morris: I just wanted to make sure you were included.

Schultz: Yes. I was included, and I was invited to be on the platform with her and Roger. I was not expected to make a speech, because Helen Douglas was the speaker of the evening. I was introduced, and I told a little joke [laughs], which I thought was appropriate. Do you want to hear what the joke was?

Morris: Yes.

Schultz: Well, all right. It doesn't sound so good now [laughs], but anyway, since I was not to make a speech, when I was introduced, I acknowledged it and thanked them. I said that I was very pleased to be on the platform with Helen Douglas, whom I had admired as a congresswoman for years, particularly for her concern for the consumer, with her little marketbasket every year in Congress.

Schultz: I said that her eminence as a legislator who cared about the common good spoke for me, too. I said: I would like to tell you the story about the two Indian women who were selling the same sort of wares. One of them had a great deal more to offer than the other, and she was first down the street. She called her wares, and said, 'Come and buy!' and this, that and the other.

The secondary person followed her down the street, and instead of calling her wares, she said: 'Me too, me too.' I thought that was appropriate, because here's Helen Douglas running for Congress, and here's little Schultz running just for the Assembly. I'm clearly secondary in every way, so: Me, too! [Laughs]

Morris: That's lovely.

Schultz: Well, the aftermath of that dinner was that the Argus Courier, which is a Republican weekly in Petaluma, came out with an editorial in which they said that they had been watching my candidacy with interest, and with some approval. (As a matter of fact, and I'd like to digress a moment to say, the wife of the editor of the Argus-Courier was one of my most loyal supporters in Petaluma! She gave coffee after coffee on my behalf, so from that point of view, he had been watching it with more than casual interest.)

But the fact that I was on the platform with the Pink Lady--you know, Nixon had dubbed her the Pink Lady--had made up their mind that they didn't want any of me, either. So from that time, the paper's policy was adverse to Schultz.

Since Nixon was hanging his campaign against Douglas on the pink label, McCollister very adroitly, I think, adopted the same policy. He had a slogan: Don't Vote Left--Go Right! In all the Republican meetings, word came back to me from some of my supporters who went to them to see what they were saying, I was being painted as leftist.

There was nothing in my record as a Leaguer, as a citizen, as a councilwoman, or anywhere else that gave the slightest justification for such a slogan. It was picked out of the air for political purposes, and it was effective because, you remember, this was the Joe McCarthy era!

Morris: And it was also being used against other candidates, including Helen Gahagan Douglas?

- Schultz: Yes. It was also used against another candidate at that time, namely Norgaard, who actually got the nomination away from Roger Kent. Roger received more votes than Scudder and Norgaard combined in the primary, but he did not get a majority of the Democratic votes, and therefore he was deprived of the nomination.
- Morris: How painful!
- Schultz: Very painful!
- Morris: Did you talk with your committee and other advisors about how to deal with these attacks when they came in the papers?
- Schultz: The committee did consider it. There were a great many weeks when I was so busy campaigning that I didn't meet with my campaign committee. It takes a lot of time to go back and forth between two counties.
- Morris: Did you have closer contact with the campaign manager during that time?
- Schultz: I had much closer contact with the campaign manager, both here and there, than--
- Morris: Let's get their names into the record.
- Schultz: My Marin manager was Moyca David. As I told you, Paul Golis was the Sonoma County manager.
- Morris: So you did stay in touch with them?
- Schultz: [Emphatically] Yes.
- Morris: Did they have any advice or suggestions as to how to deal with the Pink Lady issue?
- Schultz: The only suggestion that they made to me was that I meet it head on and refute it, and say: It's a lie. That's all I could do, and that's what I did, but it wasn't enough.
- Morris: Did you talk to the Kents about it at all?
- Schultz: I don't remember talking to the Kents. Roger had his own problems, and his own campaign. I had my own campaign committee. In that were a number of very well-known and staunch Republicans. This was

Schultz: a fact, both in Sonoma and in Marin. There were well-known Republicans who supported my candidacy, so that it was, in a way, a bi-partisan thing.

I remember now that I did something that I have always regretted since, because I didn't realize the significance of what I was doing. Delger and Nancy Trowbridge, who had a very nice home in Kentfield, near the Kents, asked me to come to their house on election night for dinner, and to be there with them when the returns came in. They had other guests, too.

Now, this was my first campaign, really, you see. I didn't know enough at that time about the tradition that you spend that night with your campaign committee! I didn't think about that. I just accepted this information because these people had been simply marvelous in their help to me, and had gotten committees for me of Republicans in Sonoma County, where they had a home on the Russian River. I just accepted their invitation.

It was only afterward, seeing other campaigns on election night, and where's the candidate? He's with his committee, the people who worked so hard! These people had worked hard, too, but it was exclusive. I had gone to an exclusive thing. THAT was a mistake.

But I must say that my campaign committee didn't say one word.

Morris: That was very nice of them.

Schultz: They didn't say one word. They knew I didn't need it [laughs]! They were just nice.

Morris: You didn't win, but you did come closer than anyone had done in the last several campaigns?

Schultz: Yes. I remember my husband saying: If there had been forty-five hundred votes changed, you would have won. Now, that was out of sixty thousand that were cast!

Morris: Was that a higher turnout than in recent elections?

Schultz: That I don't know, because I would have to compare with other elections. It was my impression that it was, that more voters had voted in that election than in past elections, but that would really take a survey to see.

Morris: It sounds like it was a very lively election.

Schultz: It was a lively campaign, and terribly wearing. Oh, my! I almost never go to Sonoma that I don't think of those days, of how I had to drive through the night. Alice [Kent] used to drive. You see, at that time I didn't know how to drive. I'd never learned how to drive, which is a terrible, terrible handicap for a candidate! Imagine! So I always had someone to drive me wherever I had to go.

Alice took it a week at a time, and other people took it a week at a time. I had a brother--one of my four brothers was Charles. Charles came down. His home was in Nevada.

[End Tape 5, side A. Begin side B.]

Campaign Finance

Morris: There is a current rule of political campaigning, that the candidate never goes anywhere by himself, or herself, as the case may be. Was that part of it having someone drive you, too.

Schultz: Yes, that was a part of my campaign committee's decision, too. They had certain assignments, you know. The person who went with you, wherever it was, had certain specific things that he must do. He must get you extricated, if somebody's got you by the lapel and won't let you go. There are always such people that have so much to talk about, so they get you out of the meeting, number one.

They make an appeal for funds. They don't leave that to the candidate. I never had to ask people for money. Someone else always did that.

Morris: Even when it was somebody that you hoped to get a couple hundred dollars from?

Schultz: Yes. I never asked anyone. They would have me make a contact, for instance, but I never asked for money. In all the campaigns that I've run, I've never--myself--solicited funds.

Morris: Now, that's interesting, and unusual.

Schultz: Yes, it is. I can't, for one thing. [Laughs] I just can't. Someone else can do it for me, but I can't do it. I mean, I'll pay it myself--and that was our attitude. [Laughs] If they didn't want to give voluntarily--this is one of the things that I notice now,

Schultz: that is so different. Candidates, no matter how well off they may be as individuals, well after a campaign is over and they have won, still give fund-raisers to pay off their deficit.

We never thought of doing that! We just paid the deficit!

Morris: Can you recall a general figure, of how much that Assembly campaign cost in 1950?

Schultz: Yes. About \$6,000, it cost us, of our own funds. I don't remember how much the whole campaign cost, but we could get those figures, if you're interested. Those are things that recede from memory.

Morris: I was thinking about some kind of a ballpark figure. Did you and Ray have to come up with half of the total, when you figured it all?

Schultz: No, we didn't have to come up with half of it. That was just the deficit.

Morris: I was thinking more in terms of what it cost to run an Assembly campaign in 1950.

Schultz: Now, I'll have to research that for you, and get my old records, because I just don't remember.

Morris: Well, if it turns up, it would be good.

Schultz: It certainly would be of interest historically, because campaigning then--notwithstanding, we didn't have any Proposition 9!--was so much simpler and so much less expensive. Consider mailing, alone. We had mailing permits in both counties, but it cost so much less for the printing, for the stock, for the postage, for gasoline--I mean, everything was so much cheaper back in 1950 than it is in 1976, for instance.

Morris: Incredibly. But even then, it sounds like it was close to twenty thousand dollars--fifteen, twenty?

Schultz: Well, I'm not going to hazard a guess, because I just don't remember. But I will find out for you.

Morris: Did you feel, or did you observe, any change in Mr. McCollister as assemblyman, after you gave him such a run for his money?

Schultz: He was more circumspect in the bills he introduced, [laughs] because I held them up to view!

Morris: In your campaigning you had done that?

Schultz: Yes. I would read a bill, and say: What does this do for you?

Morris: So you used his legislative record in campaigning?

Schultz: Yes. That was the backbone of my whole campaign. Number one, the record. There was a publication that came out at that time--you know how different organizations evaluate legislators' records at the end of each session? There was a publication that came out that said that Richard McCollister was one of the three most corrupt assemblymen in the legislature.

I had that photostated, and I used it. I wasn't saying, you see, others were saying it. People had observed the legislature all the time, year in and year out, and were saying this. This is after nine years up there. His progress had been toward allying himself, you see, with the corrupt influences up there, not the good legislators! This was the whole core of my cause.

Evaluating a Narrow Loss

Morris: Did you do any analysis of the vote results, afterwards, to see where your strength was, and where voting patterns were changing?

Schultz: Oh, yes. I did. It was quite interesting to me to see, especially when you consider that if forty-five hundred more votes had been for me, I would have won. Where those votes might have come from--they could have come out of the city of San Rafael, from people whose registration was Democratic. But there was, as there still is, a great lethargy. It just seems impossible for the candidate to make contact with every registered voter and get them involved enough to vote.

I noticed that in precinct after precinct, in San Rafael, the Democratic vote went for McCollister.

Morris: That's interesting.

Schultz: Yes, it was interesting, and illuminating, to me. If only there had been some way to get those people!

Morris: Looking back on that, did you maybe have fewer contacts, fewer coffees and things like that, in San Rafael?

Schultz: That's correct. I had far fewer in San Rafael. I think one of the reasons was, number one, San Rafael has a daily newspaper. We were running ads all the time, and I thought that people in San Rafael would be getting the story from the newspaper. They weren't. They weren't, anyway. Lots of people don't read political news or political ads. They just don't care. They aren't that concerned. They go and they vote for the familiar name.

Morris: Even when it's of another party?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: Did you incorporate that analysis later on, when you were running for supervisor? Was San Rafael in your district?

Schultz: No, no. Just southern Marin.

Morris: I see, so you didn't have to tackle that problem.

Schultz: I did take a leaf out of that book, because I noticed in the June primary in the 1950 election, that the community of Alto down here, which was not then a part of Mill Valley, as a lot of it is now-- but in Alto, I hardly got a vote. It's largely Democratic. I noticed that in analyzing the primary returns.

After June, Ray and I concentrated on the Alto area as an experiment. The two of us went door-to-door down there. He, across the street, would knock on a door and say: I'm the husband of the candidate, and there she is!

This was a wonderful demonstration of the fact that door-to-door canvassing does pay off. In the general election, we won there, where we had lost dismally in the primary.

Morris: So you were successful in the 1950 primary?

Schultz: Yes, for the first time in sixteen years, there was a choice in November! There hadn't been, all those other years! It was in the final that I lost by that narrow margin, [laughs] so to speak. But a miss is as good as a mile.

Morris: Was the November campaigning a tougher proposition than the primary?

- Schultz: Well, yes. I'm sure that my opposition had been relaxed before the primary. He didn't, really, think that I would get my own party nomination. That was a shocker. So after the primary, he began to take off the gloves, and really work harder.
- Morris: Was the incident, or the publicity, following the Santa Rosa dinner with Helen Douglas--was that in the campaign for November, or was that during the primary campaign?
- Schultz: Oh, YES. That was the campaign for November. That hadn't been in the pre-primary. He hadn't used that pre-primary. That was in the final.
- Morris: In the fall campaign?
- Schultz: In the fall campaign.
- Morris: Did the same committee carry on from the primary on through the November campaign?
- Schultz: Yes, it did. Our committee took a recess, as they always do, because there's such a long time between June and November. Right after the primary, there's a let-down. That was the time that Ray and I did this little experiment of trying to make contact with the voters who had voted for somebody else.
- Morris: And you switched their votes?
- Schultz: Yes. They came around in November, but they weren't in the primary.
- Morris: You said awhile ago that Lucretia Grady continued to take an interest in your campaigns. Did she help at all in this Assembly campaign, or advise?
- Schultz: No. It seems to me that Lucretia was in India with her husband at that time. It was in my campaign for the state Senate in 1964 that Lucretia was helpful to me. I had known her, you see, from the days I was a reporter.
- Morris: In Oakland.
- Schultz: Yes. Her husband was a professor at UC. He was one of Ray's professors in the College of Commerce. I wouldn't have met her through that association; it was through my newspaper work that I met her, and came to admire her so greatly, and it was after that that Lucretia became national committeewoman, and was very active in national Democratic politics.

Schultz: Her husband was appointed ambassador to India, and they were out of the country a long time.

Morris: Did you continue contact with, and activity with, the Democratic party and its leaders after that Assembly campaign?

Schultz: Yes, I did. That really introduced me to the value of a party. I had learned the bitter consequences personally of that cross-filing situation that we had in this state. I became very active in the League, in opposing cross-filing. It finally was repealed.

Morris: Just a few years after that.

Schultz: Yes, we finally got rid of that handicap.

Long Range Maneuvers

Morris: Did you start fairly soon to think of running for the Board of Supervisors?

Schultz: Not soon. Perhaps I didn't tell you--I thought I had told you the circumstances under which I did consider running.

Morris: Let's put it on tape.

Schultz: Well, the editor of the Mill Valley Record, a Republican, had not supported my candidacy in the Assembly contest. He had supported McCollister. This had been a disappointment to me, because I knew that Stan Wilson, the editor, respected my performance on the City Council. He had told me so, but it didn't carry over, you see, when it came to a partisan contest.

One day, in the year following that contest, Stan came to my home here and said that there was to be a vacancy on the Board of Supervisors with the chairman of the board, Fred Bagshaw, who had been a former councilman and mayor of Mill Valley, having announced his intention to run for the state Senate. He would be vacating his seat on the Board of Supervisors. Stan suggested that I consider running for Third District Supervisor, and that if I did, his paper would support me.

This interested me, naturally, because you can hardly have a better augury for success than the support of your hometown paper. Mill Valley was one of the larger towns in the Third District.

Schultz: There's Sausalito and Belvedere. Tiburon was not incorporated at that time. I was certainly suffering from not having any place to put my great interest in government. I had had this active participation in government at the city council level, you see, and I had tried for Assembly. Now I was unemployed!

So I was certainly interested in that. Of course, I had known county government more or less intimately. In all the years I had lived here, I'd spent a great deal of time trying to get the county to have a department of public health and a number of other improvements, so I thought they certainly needed some improvements in the structure of county government--mainly, they ought to have an administrator.

So here I was, off and headed in that direction! I met Mr. McCollister one day on the street. This was sometime later, after I had declared my intentions to seek the Board of Supervisor's seat. He shook hands with me, and wished me well and informed me that it was his idea. He had suggested to Stan Wilson that he come and put this idea in my head, because he didn't want me running against him at the next election. You know, the Assembly is only elected for two years, so here he just gets back there when he has to think about the next election!

Morris: She's going to try it again?

Schultz: That's right, and she came too close last time.

Morris: Was the parlay even further than that? Was it possible that it was suggested that Mr. Bagshaw run for the Senate in order to move him out and have a local vacancy?

Schultz: No. Bagshaw was a Republican, and he had been on the Board of Supervisors for a number of years. It was his own desire to move up the ladder politically that caused him to--well, what caused him to? The fact that there was a vacancy in the state Senate, and why was there going to be a vacancy? Because Tom Keating, who had been our senator for eight or more years, was desirous of becoming a judge in Marin County.

Morris: And there was an appointment opening up for judge?

Schultz: That is correct! And so, he became a judge.

Morris: He'd already been appointed?

Schultz: Well, he'd already announced that he was not going to seek re-election to the state Senate. Now, whether he'd already--no, I've forgotten just the timing here, but that's why Fred Bagshaw was going to run for the state senate, because he knew that Keating was not going to be a candidate.*

Morris: And it's always easier to run for a vacant seat?

Schultz: It's never easy to run against an incumbent. It just never is. The rule of thumb in politics, in those days, was that an incumbent has a twenty-five percent advantage right off the bat, because of incumbency.

*That state Senate race was won by James F. McCarthy.

VII DEMOCRATIC PARTY MATTERS

State Central Committee

Morris: You were already involved in state Democratic activities as a result of the Assembly campaign. Were you on the state central committee?

Schultz: Yes, I was.

Morris: How does that appointment come about, or do you run for that too?

Schultz: By reason of candidacy! [Laughs] I learned a lot about things that just naturally fall into your lap as a result of candidacy. As a woman candidate for the assembly, I automatically was authorized to appoint three people to the state central committee. Two men and a woman. Now, if it's a man, he appoints two women and a man.

That's the way our state central committee gets a lot of interesting people on it.

Morris: Did you appoint yourself, when you were no longer a candidate?

Schultz: No. The candidacy itself bestows that on you. When you become the standard-bearer of the party, you are automatically a part of the party machinery, because you've been selected by your party, see.

Morris: That sounds like a rather sizable group, the state central committee, if all the party's candidates, plus three other people appointed by the candidates--

Schultz: Plus all the elected officials who are incumbents. They're on it too. It is. It's a big one. But it only gets together periodically. I remember my first exposure to the state central committee was at

Schultz: a convention, a state convention at Sacramento. They usually hold it in Sacramento. Both parties do. For a time, they both held it the same weekend, and there was so much competition for space, both in the capital buildings and hotels and so on, that later they agreed to go at different times.

Morris: This would be when?

Schultz: August of 1950 was my first state central committee experience.

Morris: Did the convention then spend a lot of time on campaign planning and advice for the November elections?

Schultz: Well, not really. Their focus is on the larger offices, really, the federal contest--the President, if it's a presidential year. They leave it to local central committees. You see, the way the party structure works, you have your local central committee, and then you have your district caucuses, where all the neighboring counties and their central committees meet with you.

So there's the district caucus, and then the next level is the state meeting, which is annual. Since ours is such a big state, there was, and I guess, still is an unwritten tradition that one year the chairman of the state central committee comes from the north, and the next year, comes from the south. Is it still that way?

Morris: I believe so, more or less.

Schultz: Yes, more or less. It sort of changes.

Morris: Did you find it an instructive experience?

Schultz: Oh, I found it fascinating! It was so interesting!

Morris: Does it divide up into committees and assignments?

Schultz: Yes, and it operates very much like the national convention. It had a platform committee, and it divides up into committees. I've sat on all of them. There's always finance, of course, and issues and so on. My first state convention, I was very interested in the state platform. I remember hearing Julia Porter on that committee who has just been honored in San Francisco after years of service on San Francisco's planning commission.*

*See Julia Porter's interview in this series.

Schultz: Julia Porter is one of the Democrats that I have admired greatly. She has been so consistent, through all the years in adhering to the best in Democratic politics.

Morris: What is there that you particularly recall?

Schultz: [Laughs] I don't recall! That's the tragedy of it! I don't recall what was in the platform now, but I remember being so impressed with Julia's participating, and how well informed she was, and how much she knew and how persuasive she was. She's so quiet, she's just such a quiet, soft-spoken, lady-like individual.

Morris: She'd been chairman of the women's division a few years earlier, in the forties.

Schultz: Had she? I didn't know that. It was one of my first exposures to her.

Morris: There were even fewer women active then.

Schultz: Oh, yes.

Morris: Her charge was to organize them.

Schultz: She was a good one to do it.

Morris: From your description, at the state committee level, it would be equal parts of men and women.

Schultz: Yes!

Morris: Did that mean equal participation in deciding what was going to be in the platform?

Schultz: By NO means. By no means. The women then, almost as now--well, not now, because they are emerging from behind the wallpaper--but they were behind the wallpaper. It was in theory equal participation. I remember one of my fundraisers, Leonard Thomas, who had been a candidate who lost to McCollister--he was the chairman of this fundraiser dinner at Starr Hall in San Anselmo.

For the speaker that night, we had India Edwards, who was very active at the national level in Truman's administration.

Morris: Wasn't she women's chairman?

Schultz: Yes, she was. India Edwards had agreed to come to Marin County as our speaker that night. One of the things that she said was that it was time for women to protest their inferior position in the party. We did the work, we did all the menial things, the licking of stamps and the making of coffee. When it came to real policy decisions, we were left out.

This quite impressed me. I remember India Edwards vividly.

Morris: In what ways were women left out?

Schultz: Because men don't want them in the policy-forming caucusses. They didn't want them, but now, you see, with more and more women being elected, that's changing.

Morris: I've wondered, too, about women as contributors to political campaigns.

Schultz: Women have contributed generously to campaigns. They have been the support of many a party campaign.

Selection of a National Committeewoman

Morris: In the overall mythology of political campaigning, it seems to be accepted that there is a tie between where the money comes from and where the policy is likely to go. Does it also follow that the women who make generous contributions are then consulted or listened to in selecting candidates?

Schultz: Yes, to a degree. I'll give you an example. In 1952, when I was a candidate for the Board of Supervisors, I was also on the ballot that June as a Kefauver delegate. If his ticket won in the primary, then I would go to the national convention as one of the delegates. Clara Shirpser* was also a Kefauver delegate.

At the state convention, following the primaries, when Kefauver did win, I was nominated to be national committeewoman.

Morris: At the state convention?

Schultz: Yes. I had known that Ellie Heller,* for instance, who had a lot of money, had a voice in Democratic politics. (Incidentally, had helped me with contributions, had given a fundraising party at her home down

*See also Regional Oral History Office, UC/Berkeley, interviews with Mrs. Shirpser and Mrs. Heller.

Schultz: on the Peninsula after they moved from Marin.) I knew that my circumstances didn't match hers and were such that I could not fulfill the requirements of that office, but that Clara Shirpser could. I mean financially.

She and I talked it over. She wanted it, and she wanted to go. I had been nominated for it. It was not settled, and she telephoned to me and pointed out to me [laughs] that it meant having to make frequent trips to Washington, and the question of patronage, of course, was involved. It was not yet decided whether or not I was going to be on the Board of Supervisors, but if I were, this might really interfere with my duties as a supervisor.

Clara's illuminating contribution certainly influenced my decision that I'd better stay out of that league.

Morris: In other words, she suggested that you couldn't afford it.

Schultz: That's right.

Morris: I thought you were going to say that Mrs. Heller offered to subsidize you if you took the job.

Schultz: No, she didn't.

Morris: It's interesting to reconstruct this process of selecting the party officials. I understand that the process is completed at the national convention?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: That the nominations are made?

Schultz: Actually, the process is completed before the convention, because it makes a determination of who goes.

Morris: But you and Clara both went to the '52 national convention?

Schultz: Yes, we did, because we could afford to.

Morris: But you both went as candidates?

Schultz: No. By that time, she was elected as national committeewoman. When she went to the convention, she had already been elected by the state central committee as national committeewoman, after I had withdrawn.

Morris: Wasn't there somebody else who was interested in the job that year?

Schultz: Yes, there was another woman. I can't remember her name.

Morris: [Refers to notes] Gertrude Clark.

Schultz: That's right, Gertrude Clark. You know who really made the decision? His son is in Congress now. From Contra Costa County--now what was his name?

Morris: George Miller?

Schultz: George Miller made that decision, really.

Morris: How so?

Schultz: Well, he was the--I've forgotten why he was so powerful in the party, but he was. By saying that he made the decision, he threw the weight of his personal popularity and of his office behind Clara, and she got the office.

Morris: Where does Mrs. Clark fit in all this?

Schultz: She always had been active in the party, and also, I think, was one of the people who contributed financially.

Morris: So the position of being national committeewoman was important enough for some of the men to take a hand in who was going to get that spot.

Schultz: Ohhh, and how! Yes, indeed!

Morris: Was Mrs. Clark of an earlier generation, and not as involved in some of the things?

Schultz: You mean, was she an older woman?

Morris: Yes.

Schultz: She was older than both Clara and me.

Morris: Would this have had an effect, in terms of her views on how platforms should be put together, or candidates?

Schultz: I don't think about her views on platforms and candidates, but about her capacity to actively work in the Democratic field of electing candidates, yes. It does require that.

Morris: Both men and women?

Schultz: Yes.

1952 National Convention: Observation of Kefauver and Stevenson

Schultz: Now if Kefauver had come out of the national convention as the Democratic nominee for President, those of us who had been his delegates at the convention would certainly have had our work cut out for us. It would have been tremendous. We would have been expected to carry the ball to raise the money.

Morris: If the nominees as national committeewoman and committeeman had been unwilling to go along with the convention's choice for the candidacy, would they have been replaced? In other words, from California, it was a Kefauver slate that went.

Schultz: It was a Kefauver slate that went. We were the last to capitulate at the convention, the very last.

Morris: I understand that Mrs. Shirpser had some real difficulties with this.

Schultz: Well, all of us who were Kefauver delegates felt that he'd been sold out. I think about this in relation to Jimmy Carter now. Here's Jimmy working very hard to win in the primaries. Kefauver did the same thing. He went into every state. He came out with thirty-six primary victories, and came out of the convention as a vice-presidential candidate. This was, to me, a very disillusioning thing. It's supposed to be the choice of the people, and it's not the choice of the people. It's brokered.

Morris: Who was doing the brokering?

Schultz: President Truman and others. I was disappointed in Harry, but I guess he was a wise man. I don't know. I don't know what kind of a President Kefauver would have made. I had a great deal of respect for him because of his crime investigations, and the book he wrote, and the kind of person he was. I don't know how broad-gauge he was. I do think that it was Truman's conclusion that he was not the caliber required, and so he went for a man that he believed could do a better job, namely Adlai [Stevenson], and Adlai certainly intellectually was superior.

Schultz: In California, Adlai Stevenson's charm and credits as a candidate were such that from the moment he began to campaign, we began to have a grassroots Democratic club resurgence.

Morris: This is what I've heard from several people. I wonder if you could explain that a little more.

Schultz: I can only explain it by the fact that he talked such sense to us and to the American people that he galvanized people into taking part.

[End Tape 5, side B. Begin Tape 6, side A.]

Schultz: What was I talking about before I gave you that little insight on practical politics? [Laughs]

Morris: We were back on state politics and the 1952 convention. We were talking about Stevenson versus Kefauver. Stevenson, you felt, did provide an impetus for the rebirth of the Democratic clubs.

Schultz: Of the Democratic clubs. We had so many new people quite voluntarily come into the club structure in Marin County, and it was a wealth that we had never experienced before. It's always been hard to interest people in political action. It is a divisive thing in the lives of most people, you see, and so it doesn't attract people. People avoid getting allied with partisan political action.

Morris: Were these new kinds of people who became active?

Schultz: Yes. They were, in many cases, newcomers in the county, who saw this candidate whom they could respect and work for, and so they threw their lot with him. One of my pleasant memories is of a campaign meeting at a ball park in San Rafael, where Stevenson was to speak. The atmosphere was electric with enthusiasm for this man. It was just marvelous to see it. I hadn't seen that before.

Morris: Tell me about Mr. Kefauver's impact on California. You were describing Kefauver in California, before we started to record.

Schultz: Yes. You see, Kefauver was already familiar to California voters because of the Senate hearings on crime that had been conducted in San Francisco.

Morris: How had they come to hold their hearings in San Francisco?

Schultz: Because they were investigating Artie Samish, among others! It was the Samish angle and his activities at the state legislature that gave such prominence in California to Kefauver's inquiry.

Morris: Is there any mechanism by which state political leaders can request that the Senate or the House of Representatives come and hold a hearing in their community?

Schultz: Not to my knowledge. I don't know of any way that such a thing can be requested. It's a thing that happens, in a way by accident, as a result of the different congressional investigations that are started in Washington. But you see, Kefauver had already been investigating the drug industry, among other things.

Morris: The prices of pharmaceutical products?

Schultz: That's right. And some other arenas, where there was the introduction into different industries by organized crime to control those industries.

Morris: Did the average politically-interested Californian get much sense of Kefauver out of this process?

Schultz: Yes. Yes, it is my impression that they did. I feel that that is one of the reasons that he won in California, against the favorite son, Governor [Pat] Brown, the father of the present governor.

Morris: He was a favorite son candidate in '52?

Schultz: He was.

Delegate Selection and Convention Participation

Morris: I'm glad to be reminded of that! [Laughs] How does one get to be on the slate of delegates in this primary process?

Schultz: You get to be on the slate by espousing the candidacy. Now, a lot of people are probably scurrying around at this moment to get on the slate for Jerry Brown as a favorite son candidate. There are a lot of them who are already committed to other candidates.

Morris: Who are nonetheless trying to--?

Schultz: Well, they may be. [Laughs] I don't know that they are. But you see, political fortunes rise and fall by these decisions, and those who come out early for this candidate or that may close the door on subsequent opportunities. Many of the legislators themselves are committed to Jackson, for instance, and some for Carter. Some are committed to Udall. It may be, then, that as a result of the Wisconsin primary today [May 6, 1976], the Udall people will be out in left field, because he may not be a candidate after today.

Those who are committed to Carter are in the driver's seat, except that now, along comes Jerry Brown as a favorite son, at the eleventh hour.

Morris: And there can be an uncommitted opportunity?

Schultz: Yes, offering opportunity to those who are uncommitted.

Morris: To have a place?

Schultz: To have a place to go.

Morris: Who puts them on the ballot? Is this a central committee process by which somebody makes up a slate of delegates for each candidate?

Schultz: I wish I could tell you that. You announce your support. I announced my support of the candidacy of Kefauver when he was seeking the nomination from California.

Morris: Prior to the California primary?

Schultz: Yes. Prior to it. You see, there were two slates then. As to just how some got on and some didn't, I can't tell you that. There were a lot of so-called nobodies in the party on Kefauver's slate. When it won, the really somebodies who were on the ballot for Brown were left at home.

Morris: But I also gather that there is sometimes quite a discrepancy between the names of the delegates that are on one's primary ballot and those who actually go to the convention.

Schultz: You're so right. That's where the dollar sign comes into play. There were a lot of candidates on the ballot whose names qualified them to go. There are then that many delegates with a slot, but if you can't pay your own way, and don't go, then who selects your alternates?

Schultz: Now, I selected my own alternate, and I selected Nancy Strawbridge, later Nancy Jewell. She went as my alternate to the convention. She, too, could pay her own way. Now Libby Gatov, who became national committeewoman at another time, and who subsequently became national treasurer under JFK--Libby had been on the Brown slate, and so she was not one of those who became an official delegate. But Libby went!

I think she had press credentials from the I-J [San Rafael Independent-Journal], as I recall, but she was there. Of course, she is a politically astute person. I was very happy that she was there. We're very good friends. This is where one of the accidents of political selection comes in. On the basis that she was a Brown supporter, she had been interviewed by the Ladies' Home Journal to be the subject of their "Political Pilgrims' Progress" special. They had interviewed me as a Kefauver delegate.

Well, it was not known until after the election which one of us would be the Journal's subject.* We talked about it, and laughed about being rivals, so to speak. Then at the convention, I had no time to myself at all, because I had this extra obligation every day of reporting to the Journal staff, after the convention was over. They were trying to find out how I reacted to everything that happened.

I recall having been very scornful of all of the hoopla that was part of the convention process, and saying that you'd never catch me doing that. But when Kefauver was nominated, I did, and I was so thrilled to be parading down those aisles for this man of my choice, whom I wanted to become president. So you can't really tell how you'll act at all.

Morris: The group feeling must really build up.

Schultz: That's right. It really does. The music and the knowledge, Gabrielle, the knowledge that here you are participating in one of the most fundamental occupations of our democratic process--the selection of a candidate for the presidency. It's the historical significance of this thing that's taking place. Yet underlying it all--with me, at any rate--was this regret that it wasn't more respectable. I still dislike the circus atmosphere of our conventions. They should be much more serious, because of the job they are doing for the voters of this country.

*"Delegate in a Draft," Ladies Home Journal, November, 1952.
[copy in The Bancroft Library]

Schultz: I think that one of the reforms that we have to make is in our convention process. There shouldn't be all that foofaraw, and all that noise, and the Madison Avenue salesmanship.

Morris: Do you feel that this affects the decision as to how the nominating voting will go?

Schultz: There's a lot of horse-trading, and I do think that the general atmosphere does have some effect. But people do come to conventions with solid commitments. Once they are confronted with the brokerage that goes on there, and the things that take place, out of sight and out of hearing, and the rumors that flow like rivers, and the cross currents--it's not the best way to elect a serious candidate for President.

Morris: Do you feel that most of the serious decisions are taken off the floor of the convention?

Schultz: I do. I do indeed. I think it's a fluke when anything comes from the floor, anything of substance.

Morris: Does that mean that a person active in politics, for instance, Mrs. Gatov, who because of the way things happen was not an official delegate, but did have press credentials--it would be possible for someone like her to sit in upon some of the discussions?

Schultz: Oh, yes indeed. I should say so.

Morris: There are lots of additional people there with an interest in what's going on?

Schultz: Yes, I think there are. At each convention there are, because number one, the losers don't lose interest, just because they're not on the winning delegation slate. They haven't lost interest, and if they can still go in one way or another, they will go. They will influence things.

Stevenson Inspires the Grassroots

Morris: From what you said about the resurgence of interest that actually happened in the campaign, do you suppose that might have happened if Kefauver had been the candidate?

Schultz: I doubt it. I doubt it for the reason that he was a different intellectual stature. He was an appealing man, and had much to offer, but Stevenson electrified people.

Morris: It's not often in the American tradition that an intellectual turns people on.

Schultz: That's true, but he was talking so eloquently, you know. And that wit of his! His principles, his ideals. You know, he was a reluctant candidate. He was drafted.

Morris: One of the things I have heard about him that really struck me relates to what you were saying about having to go out and ask for money for yourself. I've been told that this is one of the things that bothered him most.

Schultz: Yes. He is a sensitive person, who just couldn't do that.

He had a characteristic that turned out to be, in the eyes of many, a flaw. The characteristic to which I refer is his inability to reach a decision and then stay with it. He always saw so many facets to every question that he was continually reappraising his position, and didn't make up his mind. That was one of the great criticisms that was made of him at the time that JFK became nominee. There was still a great many people who were pushing Stevenson. He couldn't make up his mind.

If you read Truman's book, it's the thing that unsold him.

Morris: Even though he'd pushed him on into it?

Schultz: He'd pushed Stevenson and made him the delegate to the UN and all, and he served so brilliantly there. But throughout his career--and there's a new book coming out on him, which I certainly should get, because I still admire him tremendously--there was this prevailing reluctance to make a decision.

Morris: That's a fascinating concept.

Schultz: It is, isn't it?

Morris: Did the experience of having been to the national convention affect your thinking, or the way you ran your fall campaign for the Board of Supervisors that year?

Schultz: Yes, it did, greatly. It surely did. I remember being interviewed by the Mill Valley Record for my reaction to the national convention. I had to be careful, you know, not to offend the Democrats who had wanted Kefauver as much as I did, and yet have them see the realities: The choice had been made for the following reasons, and so I accept that choice. I shall work for Adlai Stevenson.

Now, you see, you cannot, in justice to yourself have it appear that you were never very strong for Kefauver in the first place, because with me it was a matter of conviction. YET I have learned, through the political process, that in order to make our democracy work, you have to make compromises. Things are never easy. You always have to make compromises. It's the degree and the kind of compromises that you make that usually determines your future.

I came back from the '52 convention having learned a great deal, some of it unpleasant, some of it very useful. I worked hard for the election of Adlai Stevenson, and wept when he didn't win, as I wept earlier when Kefauver didn't win! I really felt terrible for that man! The morning after we knew that his cause was completely lost, it was like a wake with our delegation. It was just a bitter lesson. Here we came with the guy that got all the primary victories, and he had to take second place against a reluctant candidate, who said the first night we were there: I do not want it, and I will not accept it.

Morris: Was that his true feeling, or is that the kind of political--?

Schultz: It was true. He didn't want that. That was my first exposure to him, the first night of the convention. There was this big banquet, and the speaker was Adlai Stevenson. Of course, it was in Chicago. [Laughs]

Morris: He was a local boy.

Schultz: Yes. I shall never forget with what kind of emotions I listened to him. I've always been glad I didn't go on the train with all the other delegates. I'm so glad I got to Chicago with some clarity of objectives still intact. [Laughs]

Ray and I had driven to the convention. We took our daughter with us. All the way across the country, every place where we would stop overnight, we'd get newspapers and read. Everywhere were the headlines saying that Stevenson was going to get it. I said to Ray: How can that be? The man is not even a candidate. He doesn't want it. Kefauver does. He's gotten the endorsement of the people. How can the papers say that?

Schultz: I still don't see how they can, just like they're saying that Humphrey will come out of this convention with the nomination. They know something we don't, you see.

At any rate, this was then my very first opportunity for an in-the-flesh appraisal of this man. Stevenson was a fine speaker and, you know, he just has such charm and wit and appeal. But he was so positive that night. So positive that he didn't want the nomination, and he would not accept it. I was reassured. I thought: Well, that's just newspaper talk.

VIII ELECTION TO THE COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, 1952

Deciding to Run for Office; Seven Candidates in the Primary

- Morris: Were there people active in politics here who were sufficiently distressed by it that they, then, didn't want to work for you for Supervisor, if you had gone along with the Stevenson nomination?
- Schultz: If there were, I didn't know it. I don't know whether there were any people who resented it. I don't really think so, though. It's just in the nature of political participation that you support the candidate that the party presents to you. Now sometimes you don't. There have been many, many times that I have withheld my endorsement, my support, and have voted for somebody else, because I didn't think the right choice had been made.
- Morris: Going back to the primary, after you'd decided to run for the Board of Supervisors.
- Schultz: Yes?
- Morris: When all those other candidates sprouted up, did you ever have any thought of not running if there were so many candidates? Was there any kind of discussion of narrowing the field somehow? There were six of you, weren't there? Seven?
- Schultz: There were six men and me. There were seven candidates. Including former Mayor Sloan, who had taken the mayorship when I should have had it. [Laughs] But I liked Charlie Sloan. As more candidates got into the arena, it never for one moment occurred to me that, wow, this is too much! I'd better get out! No, I have enough confidence in my own objectives--I knew what I wanted to do on that Board of Supervisors, and the gamble was very much worthwhile.

- Schultz: Suppose there are six men running against me. I know a lot about county government that not one of them knows! So I welcomed their participation. I didn't welcome the fact that they'd gotten together before the primary and agreed that whichever one of them emerged as the runner-up against me--because they conceded that I was going to be one of the two--they agreed that they would all throw their support to the runner-up.
- Morris: Why would they do that?
- Schultz: Why would they do that?
- Morris: Were they all Republicans?
- Schultz: Nooo, they weren't all Republicans. They would do that, in my humble opinion, because I was the only woman candidate. There is that male solidarity.
- Morris: There was a woman named Carmel--
- Schultz: --Booth.
- Morris: --who was running in the next district.
- Schultz: Right.
- Morris: Did she have the same kind of problems? Did you have any contact with her?
- Schultz: We had very little contact. We had similar backgrounds, in that she had been on the city council and so had I. Both of us were active politically, and both were Democrats. Incidentally, her sister in Sonoma County had been active in my campaign for the Assembly.
- Morris: So you knew each other.
- Schultz: Yes, there were many areas of common interest and sympathy. We got along very well together. I remember that the Independent-Journal had come out with an editorial suggesting that we might hurt each other's chances, that it was too bad that there were two women running, even though in separate districts. They suggested that maybe we'd just cancel each other out. It didn't work that way.
- Morris: Was this sense of "the boys ganging up on you" evident in the campaigning?

Schultz: Yes, it was. It certainly was.

Morris: The seven of you at candidates' meetings--that must have been kind of interesting.

Schultz: Yes, it was interesting. I think it was interesting for the voters. And I think it was interesting for me! I found myself very interested in the candidates' meetings [laughs] in getting a perspective on what the other candidates would do if they were on the Board of Supervisors. I recall that the League of Women Voters asked all of the candidates to comment on their reaction to a report that had been made by Kroeger and Associates, commenting on the existing structure of county government in Marin. It was highly critical of its hydra-headed nature, its unaccountability, and it recommended that there should be a county administrator.

That recommendation was one of the planks in my platform. I believe in the administrative principle, and I was firmly convinced that it was needed in Marin County, so I didn't equivocate on that at all. I knew what I was talking about. Two factors contributed to my being positive. One was my experience with council-manager government, and the other was my experience as a freeholder for a year, when I had studied the administrator principle. I was well-prepared to speak decisively on that topic.

Morris: And you were speaking in support of the Kroeger report and its recommendations?

Schultz: Yes indeed, I was.

Morris: How about the gentlemen?

Schultz: They, in many cases, were waffling. They didn't want to offend the incumbents by saying that it wasn't [laughs] the best of all possible administrations up at the courthouse, so they waffled. They weren't explicit, most of them. Now, some candidates were really quite inadequate. They didn't have enough information to present their point of view logically.

Morris: Why would somebody who was uninformed about county government decide that they wanted to run for supervisor?

Schultz: Well, I recall that one of the candidates was head of a taxpayers' group, and he was running because he wanted to cut the cost of government, no matter how. One was a salesman who saw in it a job with a steady income. I mean, there are all kinds of motives for running, when there's a job at stake that only calls for the endorsement of the public.

Morris: Who did you feel were the best-informed and most worthy opponents?

Schultz: I thought that the best-informed opponents were two men, both of whom had had city council experience--Sloan, and a former mayor of Belvedere.

Morris: Bert Johnson?

Schultz: Bert Johnson, that's right. I'd even forgotten his name.

Morris: Mrs. Radford does beautifully detailed research.

Schultz: Yes, she does.

Morris: It was very helpful.

In the primary election, a rancher from Bolinas and you came out at the top of the ballot.

Schultz: That is correct. He was one of the least qualified of all the candidates. He was least well-educated, he was least well-informed, his motive for running was questionable. He was the candidate put in there by the county clerk, George Jones, in order to be a puppet.

Morris: Had he been active in politics at all before then?

Schultz: No. Perhaps he had been a Republican wheel out on the coast, but never had run for any other office, never had demonstrated any civic activity for any sort that I know of.

Morris: How was he as a campaigner?

Schultz: Well, how was he as a campaigner. [Thinking] He was courteous. He accorded a certain deference. He was gallant when it was called for. But his campaign was really run for him from the courthouse. He didn't have to worry about money or many of the things that other candidates had to, because the political system at Marin County at that time was such that if you had the support, let alone the endorsement, of County Clerk George Jones, you practically were in.

Morris: How could the voter tell that this candidate was George Jones' candidate? Was Mr. Jones endorsing him, or campaign chairman or something like that?

Schultz: He wasn't campaign chairman. That would have been too raw. But it was common knowledge in the county that Balzan was George Jones' hand-picked candidate.

Morris: Along the same line, how far along in the campaign did you get wind of this agreement between the men, that whoever won, they would back that one?

Schultz: Only after the primary, when they did it! [Laughter]

Morris: So you weren't aware of this kind of thinking during the primary campaign.

Schultz: I wasn't aware that the guys had done that until after they did it. I really wondered why they did that, but something happened. There was a great deal of undercover activity going on in Marin County between June and November. I was being well-axed at every turn. Not only by the five who didn't make it, and the runner-up who did, but by the courthouse gang, which included the assessor and the clerk and several others up there, who didn't want to see me elected to the Board of Supervisors.

Morris: Did this include some of the incumbent supervisors?

Schultz: I didn't ever know. I don't know to this day whether any of the incumbent supervisors worked it. It would certainly be reasonable to think they put their two bits' worth in, but I don't have any evidence of that. I don't know. I don't think that Mr. Fusselman, at that time, was meddling in Third District, but he might have been.

Morris: I'm interested in the other city councilpeople who were running as candidates. Mr. Sloan had been through much the same experience you had, and I gather that although you had your differences of opinion, he was more or less in favor of improved public administration.

Schultz: Yes, he did. He believed in the manager principle.

Morris: And how about Bert Johnson?

Schultz: And Bert Johnson believed in the manager principle, because he'd had experience, you see, as a councilman. Whipple, the salesman, believed as I recall that it was quite enough for the supervisors to make decisions on their own. He didn't want to see any change. To McDougall, it was just another job, another salary, and more bureaucracy. He didn't believe in it.

Let's see, who else was there?

Morris: Don Billings.

Schultz: Don Billings?

Morris: From Paradise Cove. Bert Johnson from Belvedere, Tom McDougall from the Taxpayers' Association in Mill Valley, Charles Sloan from Mill Valley, and Clarence Whipple from Mill Valley. So there were four of you from Mill Valley. And then Stephen Balzan from Bolinas.

Campaign Issues: County Administrative and Space Needs

Morris: What was the general feeling in the community about the need for improvement in county administration?

Schultz: The main criticism that came out in the Kroeger report was the looseness and the unaccountability of our county structure.

Morris: Was it the planning commission that was concerned enough to commission the Kroeger report?

Schultz: It was the Board of Supervisors who commissioned the Kroeger report, at the request of the grand jury. That's how that came about.

There was another key in that campaign, which also stemmed from the Kroeger report, and that was the overcrowded space condition for county government. The county at that time was renting space in multiple areas in the county, because there was no room for the departments in the courthouse. It was well recognized that there had to be something done to solve that problem.

This was where the planning commission's report on public building played a key role, because they had made, at the request of the supervisors and financed by them, an intensive study on the space needs and possible alternatives of where new buildings could be placed. I made great use of that document which came out of the planning commission.

They had pointed out that there were some eight possible locations for a civic center concept to be placed--that is, that we would select a piece of property of sufficient dimension that we could begin the development of a civic center where all our county government services could be centered.

The alternative that was being pushed by incumbent members of the Board of Supervisors was that a multi-story building be built on the old courthouse site.

Morris: In downtown San Rafael.

Schultz: Yes, on the grounds, and stay in San Rafael. This will interest you, I think. The concept of having a civic center, as the right solution, had come from the San Rafael Chamber of Commerce, of which my husband happened, at that time, to be president. They, at their own expense, had hired an architect to design a civic center within the City of San Rafael. They weren't thinking of going outside San Rafael, but they were thinking of getting all the departments of county government together in a complex of buildings that would be a civic center.

Morris: A cluster of low buildings rather than a highrise?

Schultz: Yes. Their solution was to redevelop a section of San Rafael that was filled with small, old residences, and that the county would buy that up, and that would be the solution.

Morris: It would also serve the redevelopment purpose too.

Schultz: Yes. It was a logical and sensible proposal for them to make. Well, when they took that proposal to the Board of Supervisors, the board countered by having a public buildings report made by the planning commission. They had come back with the proposal that we might do a lot better to get outside the environs of San Rafael and buy a parcel of undeveloped land, where there would not be the constrictions of development that would exist within the city itself. Also, where you could solve the needs of parking at a cheaper per-car cost than you could inside San Rafael.

This made sense to me, too, and I campaigned on the basis that we should seek a location outside San Rafael.

Morris: Who was on the planning commission at that point?

Schultz: Well, there was Mr. Von Rotz, who was a building construction man. There was Neil Schultz, whose family was in the construction business too.

Morris: But no relation?

Schultz: He's no relative. I've forgotten who the representative was from Third District at that time. I just don't remember, but that was two of the people that were on the planning commission. Of course, the director of it was Mary Summers, of whom we've already spoken.

Campaign Organization and Support

Morris: Did you find already, in early '52 as you were beginning your campaign, some of this revival of grassroots interest in politics, that you spoke of?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: Did you still have contact with, and did you recruit, some of the people from your campaign earlier for City Council?

Schultz: Yes. There has been a rather sweet continuity. There have been loyal people, for instance, Margaret Azevedo, who is now running for election for the Board of Supervisors. She had worked in my campaign in 1952. She was also my campaign manager for re-election in 1956. I was at that time opposed by Balzan again, and also by Rutherford, who at that time was hand in glove with the county clerk and Mr. Fusselman, and was designing to take me out of the courthouse.

We won in the primary that time, which shows you that Margaret worked very well. Campaign costs were not anything then compared to what they are now. Margaret didn't have one penny for all her service. You didn't hire a campaign manager for the Board of Supervisors then. Now you do.

Morris: That's interesting.

Schultz: Yes, it was much simpler then.

Morris: But it was the custom to pay a campaign manager for a city council campaign?

Schultz: No, no.

Morris: That was volunteer too?

Schultz: That was volunteer also, yes.

Morris: According to Mrs. Radford's book, Margaret was a newcomer to Marin County in 1952, is that right?

Schultz: Yes. She came here from Oakland, where she and her husband had been active in the federal housing field. As people who were aware, they naturally became active in local politics as soon as they made their home here.

Morris: Had she had any campaign experience of her own before you took her on in your campaign?

Schultz: I really don't know whether she had or not. She certainly knew her way around! She must have had, but I just don't know whether she had or not.

Morris: Some people have a gift for it.

Schultz: Yes, I know. Some people do. Margaret does, and then when I was elected, I appointed Margaret to the planning commission. She has served on that, except for a hiatus of a year or two when they had a sabbatical and went to Europe, ever since.

[End Tape 6, side A. Begin side B.]

Morris: Who else do you recall particularly from your campaign committee in 1952?

Schultz: I'd really have to look through some of my old scrapbooks to see. The Athearns--that's Leigh Athearn--of Mill Valley was one of my supporters, and Dr. John Hoag, who used to live here, (he doesn't any more) was another. Harrison Leppo, who became mayor of the council while I was still there, supported my candidacy, although he is a Republican.

You see, municipal elections are non-partisan, and you're not supposed to let party label make a difference. There were many Republicans--Don Sias supported my candidacy. We'd worked together. But they did not serve on my campaign committee.

Morris: I've got a couple of names that turned up in our files as Marin County political ladies. Helen Nemschoff, Leafie Smith--do you know any of these ladies?

Schultz: Yes. Leafie Smith and Nancy Swadesh were both active in my campaign. Nancy Swadish had worked in my behalf in the Assembly campaign, and Leafie--

Morris: That's a wonderful name.

Schultz: Yes, it's a lovely name. Leafie Smith was elected to the board of freeholders that came into being after I was elected to the Board of Supervisors. The first three years on the board, some of these objectives didn't take place, but along about the third year, we got

- Schultz: to the point where we did elect a board of freeholders, and Leafie Smith was one of those, and was one of the people who campaigned very effectively for the proposed charter that the freeholders presented for election. It unfortunately failed.
- Morris: Was it more complicated to organize a campaign, with seven candidates running?
- Schultz: It's no more complicated to run a campaign, no matter how many candidates there are. I mean, there are certain fundamentals to running a campaign. One is getting organized so that every precinct is covered, if you can. It's sometimes an impossible goal, but the thing you always strive for is to cover every precinct, and to keep the lines of communication open, to get a firm financing plan, to have a realistic budget. After that, it's to have the kind of manager that keeps people working.
- Morris: Is that a particularly difficult problem?
- Schultz: Yes, because at least in these campaigns, it was all volunteers.
- Morris: Is the problem that people lose interest?
- Schultz: They don't necessarily lose interest, but they have their own lives to live, and campaigns take a great deal of time. Often people, no matter if they are interested, just don't have it to give in unlimited amounts.
- Morris: I guess what I was thinking of, in terms of seven candidates: was it more difficult to find willing workers?
- Schultz: Yes, from that point of view.
- Morris: There are usually only so many in a community.
- Schultz: That care to participate. That is true, Gabrielle. That certainly did affect the campaign, though we turned again to the sources that had helped me in the past. The members of the League--of course, if they're on the board of the League, they can't do anything.
- Morris: I was waiting to hear that. [Laughs]
- Schultz: Yes. There are many effective people who are automatically eliminated thereby. Then there is the big general membership that's been exposed to you, and you to them. That's where you go, among other places. There's the local women's club, the Outdoor Art Club,

- Schultz: and other women's organizations and conservation groups. There are the teachers, and all these different segments of the community to which you turn and get workers and support.
- Morris: Caroline Livermore's name turns up again and again in the Marin County story. Although Republican, would she have been one of your supporters?
- Schultz: Yes. Caroline Livermore did support my candidacy for the Assembly, and for the Board of Supervisors. Of course, she isn't in this district, but she was favorable to me. Number one, she knew that we were on the same wave length as far as conservation was concerned.
- Morris: Being a notable woman herself, did she have any particular views about women as candidates?
- Schultz: I really don't know what Caroline's attitude was, politically speaking. She herself was a magnanimous person, who would want to recognize human worth wherever it was, and whatever its sex, whether it was male or female. I can't imagine her, for instance, not being sympathetic to the suffragists, to people today who want ERA--she would never be one of the Marin Republicans who would write to Betty Ford and say: Lay off support of the ERA. She never would do that, I'm sure.
- Morris: But not so much a feminist that she would encourage someone just because she's a woman?
- Schultz: I didn't ever know her in that vein. I really don't know. I couldn't say what her attitude might have been.
- Morris: I'm just curious. It's a fishing expedition.
- Schultz: Now Mary Summers probably would know, because Mary, too, is a Republican. Yet Mary supported me in the campaigns that I ran on a partisan basis, even for the Senate.
- Morris: You said that you and Caroline Livermore were on the same wave length on conservation--was that an issue yet in '52?
- Schultz: Yes. Saving open space has been a continuing goal of conservationists in Marin. Caroline Livermore was a leader in the effort, first of all, to acquire valuable acreage as park land. Stinson Beach State Park, Samuel Taylor State Park. She certainly helped me, when I was trying on the Board of Supervisors to get the net depot land for public ownership, and the Muir Beach overlook, and so on. We were as one when

Schultz: it came to recognizing the desirability and importance of preserving some of Marin County's irreplaceable open areas for posterity, rather than let them go into private ownership, or into development.

Morris: Would you speak about this in your campaign speeches, or would it come up in questions from the audience?

Schultz: It came up in questions from individuals at coffee hours, and it also came up at candidates' nights, in questions from the floor, there would be the attitude about development. Because Marin had just, in the fifties, begun its terrific expansion, it doubled its population in the eight years that I was on the Board of Supervisors. It doubled!

Morris: That's incredible. How did your gentleman opponents deal with conservation, and development? That's the other side of it.

Schultz: Well, they took a safe attitude. They did not offend the developers, for instance, because there were a lot of developers getting busy in Marin at that time. They didn't come out for indiscriminate open space acquisition. It was reasonable. I don't remember any of them not having a fairly enlightened attitude.

Morris: Did you and Ray have any sense of what your chances were in that primary election in the field of seven?

Schultz: We expected that I would be one of the two that emerged. We did not expect to win in the primary. We almost did.

Morris: That would have taken what kind of a vote--a majority or larger?

Schultz: It would have taken a majority of all votes cast for the entire seven. Now, Peggy--Dr. Radford's--book has the actual votes cast, which I have forgotten now. I do remember that if we'd had about 341 more votes, or something like that, we would have won in June, and wouldn't have had that long drag, and that terrible hatcheting that took place between June and November. This was one of the remarkable consequences of not having won in June.

November Run-off: Anti-Women Opposition

- Schultz: From that position of strength that we occupied in June, by November there had been so much work done for Balzan and against me, that in the final election, the result was very close--150 votes, or something like that. Something had happened, you see.
- Morris: Did you feel that was the courthouse's fault?
- Schultz: Ohhh, yes indeed, I did!
- Morris: Did you expect that Balzan would be the other one?
- Schultz: No, I did not. I thought that several of the other male candidates were superior to him.
- Morris: How did you explain the fact that he was the other top vote-getter?
- Schultz: Because he was George Jones' candidate.
- Morris: Was the campaign any different in the fall, with the two of you running? By then, it was the presidential election, too.
- Schultz: The presidential election became a handicap to me in the fall. So did the Ladies' Home Journal article about "Delegate in a Draft," because this was a largely Republican registration voting population, and I was running for a non-partisan office at a time when sentiments were running heavily Eisenhower.
- Morris: That's right, it was his first campaign.
- Schultz: The dual combination, I think, was almost lethal.
- Morris: What was the registration at that point, do you remember, roughly?
- Schultz: Between Democrats and Republicans? It was still preponderantly Republican. I couldn't give you the numbers.
- Morris: Like two to one, or three to one--?
- Schultz: We shared the distinction with Orange County of being the two strongly Republican counties in the state.
- Morris: Again, did you do an analysis of the primary election to see where you might--?

Schultz: I don't recall that we did. You see, right after the primaries we began going to the state convention and getting ready to go to Chicago. We went to Chicago, which took travel time and so on. I remember not feeling great apprehension, because I had come so close to winning in June that I thought that with the work that we do now, we will just consolidate our position. So I wasn't apprehensive. I didn't know what was going on in the bars.

Morris: In the bars?

Schultz: [Laughs] Yes.

Morris: Was that the general opinion of where the ax work was being done?

Schultz: Yes. In the bars, and in the men's clubs, and in the service clubs, which were mostly men. It would surely be nice to know just what happened, but I don't know.

Morris: When did you begin to get word that this was going on?

Schultz: Toward the end of the campaign, the workers in the Schultz campaign would encounter this resistance to the idea of a woman on the Board of Supervisors. There'd never been one in a hundred and three years. It was a male preserve.

Morris: Was this what was being said?

Schultz: Yes, that this was no place for a woman. Just like the Assembly was no place for a woman. These are decisions that men are more capable of making. I think that it was largely: We don't want women in county government.

Morris: Was the left-leaning issue raised again, that Mr. McCollister had used?

Schultz: Not to my knowledge. It may have been, but I wasn't aware of it.

Morris: But through the grapevine of the campaign workers, it was: We don't want a woman in that seat?

Schultz: It's mostly that you don't want a woman, and that they're not qualified, and the place for women is in the home, and so on.

Morris: Did Mr. Balzan himself do any of this remarking?

Schultz: No, not publicly. I'm sure he did privately. He was the kind of man who did think that a woman's place is in the home and also silent.

Morris: How did you deal with that, in the whole picture?

Schultz: Well, I'm sure that one of the reasons that Balzan disliked me-- I think he did dislike me--was that I made him so uncomfortable about his ignorance. I had so much more information about everything asked about than he did.

Morris: And you really had a sense that this made him uncomfortable on a platform?

Schultz: Oh, yes, very uncomfortable! And resentful. That's the worst thing you can do to anybody. I didn't do it unkindly, ever.

Morris: When this began to surface, did it make any changes in how you ran the campaign?

Schultz: No, I don't recall that it did. I had certain positive goals for the county, which had become my platform. I confined myself to the explanation of those goals and why I had arrived at that point of view. It was a clean campaign from the point of view of the issues. I think the work that was done on me was a personal attack.

Morris: Because they didn't like Vera Schultz or they didn't like what you were standing for?

Schultz: They didn't like, first of all, the intrusion of a female into county government. They didn't want a female to be an active Democrat. That's the second worse thing you can be, besides being a woman, is to be a member of the wrong party. The third thing they didn't like was that I knew too much.

Morris: "They" in this case being the people who had had the job?

Schultz: The opposition.

Morris: Now, the opposition in terms of who held office, elected and appointed?

Schultz: I wouldn't say that all the elected ones were like that, because for instance, Fred Bagshaw, who was Republican, and who was running at the same time for the state senate against Jack McCarthy--he was a man who had always accorded me respect, and as he said, admiration. He ran a newspaper at that time in San Rafael. It was later bought and absorbed by the Independent-Journal. In that newspaper, and also in a column that he ran in the Mill Valley Record, he pointed out my superior qualifications for the job of supervisor. He knew, and he certainly supported my candidacy. It wasn't all the people in the

- Schultz: courthouse. He had been having his problems with the county clerk for a long time too. He knew very well that it was George Jones' intent to control that board through Balzan.
- Morris: Did you have a chance to talk to Mr. Bagshaw anywhere along the line?
- Schultz: Well, yes. We'd see each other at candidates' meetings. He was running for the senate. There had always been a friendly relationship between me and Fred Bagshaw. I used to have to interview him for the League, among other things. Fred used to be invited regularly to come to League meetings to participate in our programs and so on. There was a mutual respect. I respected him, and he respected me.
- Morris: But he did talk about your good work in his column in the paper. Did it go as far as official endorsements?
- Schultz: I don't think it did. No.
- Morris: Did he endorse anybody else?
- Schultz: He was a candidate. No candidate endorses others. Never.
- Morris: Did you then expect that the vote would turn out the way it did, that it would be so close?
- Schultz: No, I did not. I didn't think it would be that close. I knew I was in a fight, and I was fighting, but I didn't think it would be that close. That was a surprise.
- Morris: Did you get any questions from the floor at meetings on this question about a woman in county government?
- Schultz: Yes, and they often were ill-natured. They were asking how I was going to take care of my family if I was elected to the Board of Supervisors, and didn't I really think that they should come first? I mean, there were some really blunt questions asked at times. I answered to the effect that yes, my family does come first, and that my candidacy is with the full support of my husband, and that the Board of Supervisors meets once a week in the daytime, and that I would be no more likely to be neglecting the welfare of my family than the men who were on the Board of Supervisors.
- Morris: As this word began to get around, was there also a flurry of extra support, money and endorsements, things like that?

Schultz: Yes, there were. There were also the reprints of "A Delegate in a Draft," which we used as a mailer (I mean, here it was. We might as well make the best use of it we could) to appeal to the common interest of Marin County, whether Republican or Democrat. I think that it had the effect of interesting a great many women who weren't, otherwise, interested in the campaign. Perhaps without that I would have been licked! I don't know. I just don't know.

Morris: It's very difficult to second-guess this sort of thing.

Close, Double Victory: Election and Recount

Schultz: What came to light in the recount was that I was up against more than just a coalition to put Balzan on the Board of Supervisors. They were going to put him there by all means, if need be! And they almost did.

Morris: When did you hear that it looked like real trouble at the ballot boxes?

Schultz: Actually, I didn't ever know that until election night, when I won by such a narrow margin. That was a surprise. I became aware that there was more to it than that after the election, when Ray and I and Joyce went for a vacation. It had been a very hard-fought campaign, believe me. We went down south to rest up a little, and we came back after Thanksgiving to be greeted by a headline in the paper that Balzan was calling for a recount.

Morris: Balzan was calling for a recount?

Schultz: Yes. Balzan was calling for a recount.

Morris: A month later?

Schultz: It was later in November. It was after Thanksgiving. Yes, he was calling for a recount. The suggestion had been made right after the election, but it was close. The suggestion emerged at the courthouse, when the county clerk was counting the absentees. At that time, they counted the absentees after the general election. Sometimes those absentees changed the results of an election.

In this case, immediately following the election, I remember that Margo Dick, who had been active in the campaign and myself, and several others went to the courthouse every day, expecting to be able

Schultz: to see them count the absentee ballots. Jones kept us at a distance so we couldn't see the people who were tallying the ballots. They would write it up on a blackboard.

Jack McCarthy was very much interested in it, too, because only sixty votes separated McCarthy and Bagshaw. Bagshaw didn't call for a recount! Here in the supervisorial race, where there were about a hundred and fifty votes between us, maybe a hundred and sixty four--I've forgotten, but it was more substantial than sixty--Balzan talks about a recount!

Balzan's Bolinas campaign manager was a son of Judge Martinelli. At the time, that was not a significant factor, but then later, when Balzan actually called for a recount, it came in the courtroom of Judge Martinelli. It seemed to me, and to Delger Trowbridge--you remember I mentioned him before? He had been one of my staunch supporters in the Assembly campaign. He was not a resident of my district in the supervisorial campaign.

When I had to get an attorney to defend my election, I got Delger Trowbridge. I thought that there were two good reasons for that. One was that he was a Republican, in a Republican county, under a Republican judge, and therefore might be more tolerable to them. [Laughs] And I had respect for him as an attorney.

The day that we were to appear before the judge, I said to Delger: Don't you think that maybe we should call into question the propriety of Judge Martinelli being the judge in this case, when his son was the Bolinas campaign manager of Balzan?

He said: Oh, noooo. Absolutely not! And that Judge Martinelli was a man of such integrity that this would make no difference to him at all. I mean, he would have, and he did have! And yet, he was the judge! I remember having attempted to inform myself on the requirements that a judge should ask for in considering the propriety of granting a recount. The law states that in order to justify a recount, the person calling for it must show evidence of error in two or more precincts.

This was not called for by the judge. He merely said that everyone would be better satisfied if the recount were held. I remember going out into the hallway in the old courthouse and saying to Margo Dick, who was with me: There's something rotten in Denmark.

Now, if he had required them to show error in two or more precincts, and those precincts in Marin City had been checked where the errors turned up, there could have been a direct link, you see.

Schultz: But they weren't required to show error. And they knew that there were sixty votes lying down there in those three precincts in Marin City that hadn't been tallied by the precinct board. They knew that before they called for the recount.

They knew they were going to win, and then they didn't.

Morris: Because there were other errors?

Schultz: There were other errors. Then we found some things out, too! You know the story about Sam Gardiner making the affidavit which Libby Gatov and Alice Kent and about thirty other good friends took to Marin City houses in the mud and the rain just before Christmas? The affidavit asked the voter to say: I didn't vote for either one for Supervisor.

Mostly Marin City doesn't vote for supervisor, but there they were! The ballots had been left in the firehouse overnight.

Morris: Normally?

Schultz: No! They're supposed to go to the courthouse the moment the precinct board finishes with them. The law requires the county clerk to keep his office open all night, if need be, to receive those ballots. In the case of Marin City, they were left overnight in the firehouse. They had been opened. There were sixty votes put on blank ballots.

Morris: In addition to the number of people who had voted?

Schultz: That's right. In each of three precincts!

Morris: That's really remarkable.

Schultz: Twenty-fourty-sixty votes. They thought they were surely safe with sixty, plus what they could invalidate in the process of recount. They did invalidate. [Indignantly] The invalidated ballots of mine on the premise that the little "x" mark was a faint "x" mark, and was the result of an accident of the voter folding the ballot over. He had voted for Eisenhower, and the ink was not yet dry when he folded it over, and he'd voted for me and hadn't intended it that way.

There were votes for Schultz that were thrown out on that argument, because it was a faint mark.

Morris: Do both sides to a contest of this kind have their own legal representatives participating in the recount?

Schultz: Yes, they do. My good friend Delger was just not prepared for this kind of thing. Do you know that we were not even challenging the ballots for Balzan? The first day of the thing, we didn't challenge a single Balzan vote. Just mine! They challenged mine!

There were two attorneys working for Balzan, and I had Delger, and Delger believed in ethics. He wasn't privy to this, so the second day of the recount, friends of mine like Sam Gardiner and Leonard Thomas volunteered to be there too. I mean, I couldn't pay them. Attorneys charge for their time, but these two did it out of friendship. They began to challenge Balzan's ballots, and throw out some of those.

Every morning, all the challenged ballots were brought before Judge Martinelli. He had a little machine to put it on, and illuminate it, and so forth. Then arguments would begin.

Morris: And he ruled on each one?

Schultz: He ruled on each one. [Tape turned off briefly]

Morris: So what you're saying is errors in your favor during the recount, more than counterbalanced what looked like illegalities in Balzan's favor?

Schultz: After we called the attention of the judge to certain irregularities in the appearance of the big brown envelopes that contained the ballots. Sam Gardiner made the discovery that by putting a warm iron along the scotch tape that sealed these big brown envelopes, you could lift the flap without any evidence that it had been opened. This was an irregularity which apparently occurred in that election for the first time, because up to that time, the law required that these envelopes be sealed with sealing wax, and that the precinct tally board, after the sealing, wrote their names across the flap, so that if it were disturbed, it would be obvious.

They didn't do that because of the scotch tape. They couldn't write their names across the scotch tape, so there were two irregularities about the appearance of these ballot envelopes.

When Sam discovered this, he called this quite forcibly to the attention of the judge. He was indicating that maybe the whole election would be invalidated! This meant the President, too, [laughs] and the Senators, and everybody.

Morris: So it was finally settled by the judge ruling that the recount declared Vera Schultz a supervisor?

Schultz: By the time we had finished scrutinizing each questionable ballot--and that might be a ballot, for instance, for me that had a pinprick in it, or a corner torn, or had been folded over, or there was a cigarette hole burned in it, or something that would distinguish the ballot--these then had to be appraised by the judge as to whether they were "marked" ballots.

Sometimes he would declare that they were, and sometimes he would say no. He got very sensitive as the thing progressed, and became more--if I may say so--fair. But at any rate, by the time we had completed the recount of the general ballots, my margin had been wiped out! All that stood between me and losing the election was the margin that I had among the absentees. This was the dramatic day I shall never forget. We were in George Jones' office in the courthouse. Sam Gardiner was there, and Leonard Thomas was there, and Margo Dick, and I.

We, of course, knew by that time what had happened to us, and so we demanded a recount of the absentees. They said: Oh, my, no. You don't want an absentee vote recount, because those are all done in the clerk's office by his experienced staff [laughs] and not under pressure. They must be correct.

But we said we'd like to recount them anyway. This was the day that we discovered the twenty-one votes for Schultz that had been given to Balzan during the absentee count.

Morris: In other words, there was a twenty-one vote discrepancy?

Schultz: We picked up twenty-one more votes than his staff had given us. We all looked at George Jones, and his face got beet red. He knew that we knew what we were dealing with--namely, malfeasance in office! [Laughter] Now if I had known then what I know now, I would have raked up the money to carry that farther, to bring charges, to demand an investigation of where those ballots were and who opened them, and all that. Open up the whole dismal truth.

But I was so relieved to finally get enough votes to be declared the official winner in District Three that I didn't want to fight it any more, and I didn't want to have to dig up anymore money!

Morris: You felt vindicated?

Schultz: Well, I won! [Laughs] I didn't call for the recount, he did, and I still won, so let's move on!

Morris: In the long run, Mr. Jones did trip up, or was tripped up?

Schultz: No.

Morris: No?

Schultz: He stayed until he dropped dead of natural causes.

Morris: Really?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: I thought that the pressures on him got fairly severe.

Schultz: No.

Morris: Well, I'll ask you about that next time. That's a very exciting story. It must have been harrowing to live through.

Schultz: It was. It still is, as you must have detected from my vehemence!

Morris: I can believe it. I can believe it. It's curious how many times there are these dreadfully close elections, that people come into office by such a slim margin, and still have the energy to go ahead and do all the things that they are determined to see happen. Thank you.

IX MOVES TO IMPROVE COUNTY GOVERNMENT, 1952-1956

[Interview 5: 13 April 1976]

[Begin Tape 7, side A]

Fellow Supervisors: Pro-Schultz Majority

Morris: After your harrowing election in 1952, what kind of a reception did you get from your fellow supervisors when you were seated on the Board of Supervisors?

Schultz: The men who were on the board--there was Mr. Kehoe and Mr. Fusselman, and Mr. Whitely and Mr. Wright--were very courteous and cooperative and welcoming. There was coolness, and at times visible hostility, from the office of the county clerk, because he had been disappointed.

Morris: Could you tell me a little bit about the four gentlemen on the board?

Schultz: Yes, I could tell you about them. Mr. Fusselman had been on the Board of Supervisors about eight years at that time--two terms--and was a seasoned member. Mr. Kehoe--James Kehoe from the Inverness area--was a rancher who had lived there for a long time, and had sons who were ranching in the area. He was very gallant. He was really very courteous to me, and very helpful, except when he would egg me on to attack Mr. Fusselman! [Laughter] He really wanted to see some excitement once in awhile! He would say: Why don't you take your shoe off and hit him with it! [Laughter] He just had a lot of fun that way.

Morris: He saw you as an ally, or he saw you as a spearhead?

Schultz: He saw me as a spearhead. He was not altogether hospitable to the ideas that I was expressing, the need for an administrator. He knew, probably, that such a new office in county government would be viewed with alarm by the farming element in west Marin. He did not welcome that idea. He had to really be persuaded. He eventually was persuaded. He was willing to listen. He was willing to go outside of Marin County, if need be, and talk to other supervisors who were using administrators, and see for himself how things differed with them from what we had in Marin.

At one point, I had all three men go with me down to Monterey County, and meet with the Board of Supervisors down there to ask them about the uses of a county administrator. It was after that that I really began to make progress in having them support the idea.

Morris: Monterey County already was using a county administrator?

Schultz: Yes, they had a county administrator, a county executive they called him.

The other two men on the board--Mr. Wright was a college-educated man, a prince of a fellow, an engineer who resigned from the board. I think that it was very unsatisfying to him.* He went abroad after that, and was an engineer for an oil company, and was all over the world. He had a lot of excitement after he left Marin.

Mr. Whitely was a local insurance man who had offices in the Independent-Journal building. Not an independent thinker or an original thinker. He was influenced by others all the time that he was on that board. Mr. Whitely died at the Board of Supervisors while we were having a meeting.

Morris: How awful!

Schultz: Yes, it was very tragic.

Morris: In those first years that you were on the board?

Schultz: Yes.

*According to the Supervisors' office, Wright replaced William Gness who served briefly as a supervisor after Robert Trumble died in office in September, 1952, with the understanding that he would not seek election. After Wright's resignation, Gness was elected, in 1954.

Morris: So that there were two appointments?

Schultz: There were, both Mr. Wright and Mr. Whitely were replaced.

Morris: How did you go about making the appointments?

Schultz: Well, the appointments are made by the governor.

Morris: They are?

Schultz: [Emphatically] Oh, yes. All supervisorial vacancies while the term of office is current are filled by appointment of the governor.

Morris: So that they would have been appointed by a Republican governor? It would have been either Earl Warren or Goodwin Knight?

Schultz: I've forgotten, Gabrielle, the year that Mr. Whitely died. You'll have to check that.*

Morris: It sounds like it was before the next election.

Schultz: Oh, yes. It was mid-term.

Morris: Were the two appointments made about the same time, or was it two separate processes?

Schultz: It was two separate processes.

Morris: I hate to say "survivors," but in this case, that's correct--did you meet and confer with the governor, or did the governor consult with you.

Schultz: Oh, no. Not in the least. They never do. I shouldn't say never, but rarely. That's a prerogative of the governor, and he usually--he may hear from the local Republican organization.

Morris: But you didn't get wind of any of that?

Schultz: No, I didn't know about it. Usually a governor appoints someone of his own party.

*November, 1953, so the appointment would have been made by Governor Knight. Mrs. Schultz added: I had been on the Board of Supervisors eleven months.

Morris: That's true.

Schultz: But occasionally they don't. At that time, I think I was the only-- I was going to say that I was the only Democrat on the board, but really, Kehoe was a Democrat. He was registered as a Democrat-- Kehoe from West Marin--but he was quite conservative.

Morris: He was a different kind of Democrat than you were?

Schultz: That's right. He died in office, too.

Morris: So who was appointed to those vacancies?

Schultz: William Gness from Novato succeeded to the position held by William Wright. James Marshall, from West Marin, filled Mr. Kehoe's place.*

Morris: Had either of them had any political experience, or been active in county politics up 'til then?

Schultz: No, I think not. Neither had been. They were active in farm organizations, in agricultural organizations, but they had not been active in the political organizations of the Republican party or the Democratic party.

Morris: They were both active in agricultural organizations?

Schultz: Yes, they were.

Morris: Did the new members make a difference in how the board looked at things and went about doing things?

Schultz: Yes. The loss of Bill Wright was, to me, a great blow, because he was a very intelligent man, and one with whom you could make progress if you had your facts. The loss of Bill Wright--at the time we were just moving toward two decisions. Number one was the acquisition of acreage for a civic center as contrasted to the decision to try to build a multi-story building on a small acreage in the heart of San Rafael, where the old courthouse stood. This was one very important decision that was before us.

*Kehoe's death and Marshall's appointment both occurred in April, 1955. From then until January, 1961, the Board of Supervisors remained the same: Castro (First District), Fusselman (Second), Schultz (Third), Marshall (Fourth), and Gness (Fifth).

Schultz: The second, of course, was the administrator question. Mr. Wright was very much in favor of moving outside San Rafael and buying an acreage. He went with the members of the board who did make an excursion down to San Jose and Palo Alto and some other areas where there were civic center installations, to see what was being done elsewhere.

But Mr. Wright knew that he was going to be leaving the board, so when we came back and had a meeting at which we were to make some conclusions, the courtesy was extended to Mr. Gness to sit in with this board, though he was not yet a member of it.

Morris: But it was known that the governor was going to appoint him?

Schultz: Yes. I remember my trepidation. I was afraid, you know: Here goes a committed point of view, and here comes an unknown point of view! It was an agricultural point of view, too. So I was afraid that we'd be delayed in making progress. But Bill adopted very quickly the concept of the advantages of an administrator. He also wanted to see us acquire the acreage. He also was one who supported, for many, many years, the completion of the administration building, the building of the Hall of Justice. He was very much in favor of the Frank Lloyd Wright plan.

Morris: And Mr. Marshall?

Schultz: Jim Marshall was a splendid, conscientious, quiet, thoughtful man. He didn't talk a lot on the board, but he knew what he wanted. In fact, when he was defeated at the same time I was, the argument that was used against him in West Marin was that he always seconded my motions.

Morris: It sounds as if Mr. Gness and Mr. Marshall were more favorably inclined to having a woman on the board.

Schultz: Well, I was there when they came, see. I was already there when they were added to the board, and so there wasn't the necessity to get accustomed to something strange, because I was there first, in that case. [Chuckles]

Morris: That's an interesting position.

Schultz: Yes!

Morris: It sounds as if you had a pretty good working relationship with them.

Schultz: Very good. In fact, for many years, it was a four-to-one majority on the board for almost all important decisions.

Morris: As early as '53-'54, Mr. Fusselman was by himself?*

Schultz: That is right, on the administrative question and on the civic center, and certainly on the employment of an administrative officer.

Kroeger Report: Need for a Chief Administrative Officer

Morris: Let's talk about the county administrator idea first. Was that something that was also in the Kroeger Report, or was that more in the nature of where public administration thinking was in the fifties?

Schultz: It was very much in the Kroeger Report. That administrative survey pointed out that Marin County was struggling under a hydra-headed form of organization that prevented the most advantageous use of public funds, and it was unaccountable. It pointed out the wastefulness and the undesirability of these many departments, each doing its own buying and hiring and policy setting and this and that.

It said that the answer for Marin, as it had been elsewhere, was for the board to have a trained administrator accountable to the board, who was given a set of functions to assist the board, and then let him do those functions, and keep the board from meddling in administration. Boards of supervisors are policy-making boards. They are not supposed to be administrators.

Morris: How would a chief administrative officer work in a situation like Marin, where there were several elected administrative officers?

Schultz: It is a great handicap. It takes a great deal of stamina in any administrator who does it. A great many of them do. While you never can get maximum benefit from the county executive form of government as long as you have these independently-elected heads, you at least make some approaches to improvement. But it's not ideal,

*See beginning of Interview XI for further discussion of individual supervisors.

Schultz: and later on, as you know, along about 1957, Marin attempted to adopt a charter drafted by a board of freeholders. It was submitted to the voters for approval. They didn't approve it; but that was a very hopeful opportunity, in my eyes, that we were going to move into the ranks of the true manager counties, of which there are not too many.

Morris: Going back to the beginning of your first term, how did you proceed in getting a county administrator? You had a report which recommended it.

Schultz: We had a report which recommended it. That report, of course, had been submitted to the Board of Supervisors prior to my having been elected. So it was a matter of bringing up the subject again and again.

Morris: Was it you that did it?

Schultz: Yes, I did. I introduced the subject, and I did it by, first of all, writing up a report on my personal research into the experience of other counties that were working with administrators. I think I mentioned to you that at my own expense, I had visited ten counties that were using the administrator principle. I had talked with the Supervisors, had talked with the administrator, had talked with citizens, and I compiled, in a written form so they could read it, my reasons for thinking we should lose no time in moving in this direction ourselves.

Morris: Did that report survive?

Schultz: I don't know. It may be in my basement somewhere. [Laughs] I can't imagine my throwing it away, and so it may still survive, but that would be the only place where it survives. We'll look for that. From that introduction of the subject, with this report that I made to them, then came a suggestion on my part that we visit Monterey County. The administrator down there had been very helpful to me, and so had certain members of their Board of Supervisors. They graciously invited us to come down. Everyone went except Mr. Fusselman. He refused to go. It was after that that it was much easier to move ahead through See-sac, as we call it. That's the California Supervisors' Association. CSAC had this great--

Morris: What's the other C?

Schultz: County Supervisors' Association of California. CSAC! There was a wealth of helpful information in the office in Sacramento. I made use of it, and I was constantly presenting it to the other members

- Schultz: of the board. Of course, at every annual state convention of CSAC, I made it a point to have the members of the board meet administrators whom I felt were doing a good job elsewhere.
- Morris: Does election to the Board of Supervisors automatically make each supervisor a member of CSAC?
- Schultz: Not automatically. Each county has to officially join. In a sense, it's automatic. They're always invited by the state association to come to the annual supervisors' association meetings. But you do have to join. I recall that our Mr. Fusselman used to argue against the county participating in this statewide organization. He did not go to the conventions, and he suggested that perhaps we were wasting taxpayers' money by going.
- Morris: What were his reasons?
- Schultz: That they were just boondoggles, and that people who went, went to have a good time rather than to learn more about county government. This was not true, of course. The supervisors' association brings a tremendous amount of helpful information to supervisors at those annual conventions.
- Morris: Was that a Mr. McDougall who was the director of that?
- Schultz: Yes. Bill McDougall was the executive director when I first began going.
- Morris: Did you find the CSAC staff and Mr. McDougall easier to become acquainted with from Mr. Graves's earlier assistance?
- Schultz: Not easier. They were men who were working in the same vineyard, except in another layer of government. They were very similar in many ways, McDougall and Richard Graves. Both very friendly and easy to know, and very helpful, and excellent speakers.
- Morris: From Mr. Graves, one gets a sense of a kind of a crusader for modern public administration. McDougall has the same quality?
- Schultz: Yes, he has the same quality, but it was curtailed a little, because there was less acceptance by boards of supervisors of this modern technique in government than there was among city councilmen.
- Morris: That's interesting.

Schultz: Yes, it is. Well, it had its birth in cities, you see; the use of a trained administrator really was the city council-manager form of government. Then counties began to adopt it, but much more slowly.

Morris: Did you succeed in getting the position of county administrator established by ordinance, or did you have to go to an election?

Schultz: We were able to have a majority vote on the board establish the ordinance.* In the case of the county, it was not done by referring it to the voters for their approval. It was just an ordinance. Of course, the hazard is that then a subsequent board of supervisors can rescind the ordinance, whereas if it's voted on by the people, only the people can rescind or alter.

Board of Freeholders Propose a County Charter

Morris: Was that the thinking that led to the call for a board of freeholders?

Schultz: Yes, it was. It was indeed. There were two objectives in calling for a board of freeholders. One was that to have a group of citizens elected by the voters scrutinize the structure of county government would be more credible--that is, their findings would be more credible--than if you hired a survey made by some professional firm. It was certainly more democratic to elect the people who took a look at your government and then presented to you a charter that they felt was tailored to the needs of this county.

Then when the people adopt the charter, and if it embodies the county executive idea, the man who comes to fill the position has firmer ground under his feet.

Morris: Who brought the proposal for a board of freeholders to the Supervisors?

*As Dr. Radford describes it, "The Board gnawed at the issue for four years from 1952 to 1956 with William D. Fusselman voting "No" on every ballot as the job was gradually defined. At last, in 1956, a lame version of the office of County Administrator was created and subsequently filled by an able young man, Don Jensen." P. 85

Schultz: I brought that idea, and pointed out the fact that Mill Valley had had the experience of a board of freeholders. My participation in it had led me to recognize what a valuable service this could be for the county, for a group of citizens to take a look.

Morris: How did the other Supervisors feel about that idea?

Schultz: It was resisted at first. Yes, it was resisted. It took some modification. [Laughs] In fact, there's a column that I clipped out of the San Francisco Examiner written by a reporter who covered the Board of Supervisors' meeting. The title of his column, in this case, was "Lady Supervisor Uses Sun to Get Her Way." He told about our coming back from lunch on a hot summer day. Our chambers in the old courthouse were on the sunny side of the building, and got very warm in the afternoon. So they were not quite as alert as they might have otherwise been. So I--look at the deer! [outside window]

Morris: He looks right at home. [Laughs]

Schultz: Yes, they do. They're not a bit fearful.

I proposed the election of a board of freeholders, and they said no. So then I said: Well, why don't we just appoint a citizens' committee to consider whether or not we should have a board of freeholders, and report back to us? They would settle for that, so we agreed that we would appoint a citizens' committee.

We did, [laughs] and the citizens' committee met and came back with a recommendation that there be an official freeholders' board election. We got it by indirection that way.

Morris: How did you go about appointing the citizens' committee?

Schultz: Each Supervisor nominated three people, I believe it was, to the citizens' committee.

Morris: Was that the custom for other appointments that the Supervisors were inclined to make?

Schultz: Yes, it was always done by supervisorial district.

Morris: And individual Supervisors appointed to each board?

Schultz: Yes, that's right. They selected the people they wanted to have on there.

Morris: No consultation between supervisors as to--?

Schultz: No, no. Each one came up with his list of names.

Morris: What kind of committees did that result in?

Schultz: Sometimes that resulted in committees that deadlocked, because there would be people who were put on committees to oppose certain things, and then others were appointed to use their own judgment and were more or less free to follow their own judgment. But sometimes people really were put on various boards with preconceived commitments.

Morris: Who did you appoint to that committee to study whether there should be a freeholder study?

Schultz: I believe I put an architect from Sausalito on that, and a woman from the League, and a businessman. But I would have to go back to my records to tell you what their names were.

Morris: What kinds of qualities were you looking for in your appointments?

Schultz: I was looking for a progressive, open-minded, balanced individual, who could work on a committee, and receive differing points of view, and not get mad. They would just use the democratic process to arrive at a conclusion.

Morris: When you had an opportunity like that to make appointments, did you look for a woman to appoint whenever possible?

Schultz: Yes, I did, because one of the tenets of my whole life has been that we aren't used enough. Our talents are not used, we aren't given enough opportunity to participate.

Morris: How about minority groups? Were there sizable enough populations for this to be a concern?

Schultz: Yes. We had a sizable population of blacks, mostly I'm sorry to say, concentrated in Marin City. In the temper of that time, it was not possible for them to spread out through the county and make their homes elsewhere.

Morris: Was it possible for some blacks to be appointed to some committees?

Schultz: Yes. In fact, we frequently had black representation on citizens' committees.

Morris: Do you remember any of those individuals?

Schultz: Yes, I do. I recall appointing Reverend Banks. He was a Baptist minister in Marin City--a young man--who later ran for the Board of Supervisors.

Morris: Did he make it?

Schultz: No, he didn't, but he made a good campaign. He was not elected. There was a Negro woman down there who was a very progressive, capable person--Orpha Barnes. She was one whom I appointed to different committees when it was possible.

Morris: Had you gotten to know her in your own campaign?

Schultz: I had gotten to know her through the Family Service Agency, which I had worked in in Marin City. I had gotten to know her there. We still are friends, after all these years. Gradually, you see, as we got into the problem of what was going to happen to Marin City, and what should happen to Marin City and so on, these black friends of mine were very helpful and very productive.

There was another one, an electrician by the name of Jesse Barry. He has been one of the individuals that they have elected to their community service district, and so has Orpha Barnes. So has Reverend Banks. I mean, these are the leaders in that community.

Morris: Were there other ethnic groups that were considered as somewhat separate populations that one should have a representative from?

Schultz: Not ethnic groups. It was always considered that there should be a representation from labor on most things. I recall that ~~this~~ was a difference of interest that existed among some of us on the board, because I felt that people who work are part of the work in our whole society, and that you don't select the person to sit on a policy-making board because he represents a labor union. I feel that that doesn't produce the best unfettered reasoning.

Morris: You pick the individual for other qualities?

Schultz: The individual for other qualities, and not because he represents labor.

Morris: Going back to the citizens' committee that then suggested the freeholders. Was Mr. Bagley a member of the citizens' committee?

Schultz: No, he was not a member of the committee.

Morris: How much citizen interest was there in this proposal?

Schultz: There was a rather vigorous interest for two reasons. One, the Kroeger report that emanated from the activities of the grand jury had a whole cross-section of people who served on that grand jury, and subsequently were interested in it. The League of Women Voters, which historically is an advocate of the manager principle of government, was very much interested.

Morris: How about organizations like the chamber of commerce?

Schultz: Chambers were interested, yes. They were. Chambers of commerce and service clubs.

Morris: What kind of press publicity and coverage was there?

Schultz: The only press publicity was the coverage by reporters from the Independent-Journal. There were one or two weekly papers in the county that would mention it. It was not well publicized. I mean, it was casual.

Morris: But there was strong interest in the civic groups that already had an interest in community affairs?

Schultz: Yes, there was.

Morris: When the citizens' committee recommends a board of freeholders, does that automatically happen, or do the Supervisors then have to--?

Schultz: They have to adopt a resolution calling for the election. That has to be published in the paper for a certain length of time. In fact, it is explicitly provided for in the law, exactly what steps have to be taken, when the election is to be called, and how people are to become candidates, and that sort of thing.

Morris: What kind of response was there among potential candidates?

Schultz: There were a great many people who were interested in serving on the board of freeholders. I'm not sure of the figure I'm going to give you now. I think there were sixty people, but I could be wrong.

Morris: It's on that order.

Schultz: Yes, who indicated that they would like to stand for election to the board of freeholders. There are only fifteen who can make it.

Morris: That's quite a lot of interest.

Schultz: Yes, that is. Now, I recall that in the Mill Valley freeholder election, I think I told you there were forty-five candidates.

Morris: To pick fifteen.

Schultz: Yes. In the county one, there were at least sixty.

Morris: Is that a special election, or is that in connection with another one?

Schultz: That I don't remember, whether it was on the ballot at the same time as some other propositions.

Morris: Were the freeholders elected by supervisorial district, or were they at large for the county?

Schultz: They were at large from the county, but nominees were spread over the county, geographically. They didn't have to come from supervisorial districts.

Morris: What do you recall about who won the election?

Schultz: Well, it was interesting to me that the man who got the most votes was a name that was familiar to many because he had been the president of Marin community college, the College of Marin--Ward Austin. Ward Austin topped everybody else in the balloting. Then there were attorneys--Bill Bagley from San Rafael, Chester McAtee from Sausalito, and there were three women who were members of the League of Women Voters. Leafie Smith was one, and Helen Nemschoff was another. At the moment, I don't recall the third one.

There was a man from Homestead who was a professor at State College, I recall. He was one of the most eloquent speakers on behalf of the charter after it was drafted.

Morris: Do you remember his name?

Schultz: I'm trying to remember it. [Laughs] I can't! That's tragic!

Morris: It may come to you when you see it in print.

Schultz: It may.

Morris: It's very interesting that the biggest vote-getter was a college professor--interesting that he was interested in running!

Schultz: Yes, indeed.

Morris: What was there about him that led him to become a candidate?

Schultz: He and his wife have always been very interested in community affairs, and in participating in community affairs.

Morris: He had been at College of Marin form some time?

Schultz: Yes, he was the president there for I-don't-know-how-many years. For a long time.

Morris: Does his election say something about the esteem in which the College of Marin is held by the community?

Schultz: I think it does. I think it indicates that it's looked upon with respect.

Morris: It's a well-established part of the community.

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: Did you participate in the election, campaigning or anything like that?

Schultz: Yes. I did a great deal of public speaking on the function of the board of freeholders, its place in history, why it's called the board of freeholders, where the idea came from, and what we might expect from it. I made a great many speeches in the county. I think I told you that one of the drives in my life has been to teach. I felt that this was telling people things about our government that they would find helpful to them in making a decision.

Morris: So that there was lively interest in this election?

Schultz: Yes, there was.

Morris: Do the supervisors have a role in the work of that freeholders' committee?

- Schultz: NO! It is independent of the board of supervisors. It is totally independent, and endowed with powers of its own. It has a right to hire consultants and staff. No other county official can interfere with the functions of the board of freeholders.
- Morris: Where does it get a budget with which to hire staff?
- Schultz: They present their budget to the board of supervisors, and the board appropriates what they need.
- Morris: Do they chew over the budget?
- Schultz: No, they have no debate. It's like the grand jury.
- Morris: I'd like to ask you about the grand jury when we finish with this. It seems to have been very active in Marin County.
- Schultz: Yes, it is. It's been very valuable in Marin County, and it is in a great many places.

Differences of Opinion on a Charter

- Morris: Do the freeholders have anything like subpoena power? Can they require that people come and explore their jobs with them?
- Schultz: Yes, they do have a kind of modified subpoena power. I recall that they brought each member of the Board of Supervisors before them individually, not together. They also brought different department heads--the county clerk, the assessor, the recorder, the coroner. They brought them all before them to ask them questions about their functions, and their attitudes. Most of the then-incumbent department heads were adverse to the idea of being scrutinized, for one thing, and certainly to suggestions for change.
- Morris: So that the freeholders had some controversy on their hands in the course of their work?
- Schultz: Yes. There was resistance to the idea.
- Morris: They, like the city freeholders, are limited to one year?
- Schultz: Yes, they are.

Morris: That's quite a chore. Who was chairman of this?

Schultz: I believe they made Ward Austin chairman, because he was the top vote-getter.

Morris: And then they present their findings and recommendations back to the supervisors?

Schultz: That's right. Then the board of supervisors is required to set a date for an election.

Morris: In other words, they drew up the whole proposed charter?

Schultz: They drew up a charter. They drew up a recommended charter. One of the choices that they presented to voters was that they wanted to depart from the statewide standard of five supervisors for each county. They wanted to create seven supervisors.

Morris: What was their thinking on that?

Schultz: They wanted to have broader representation, and thought that it would be gained by redistricting the county, and having two more supervisors.

Morris: Was there already a county executive officer on the job, even with limited powers?

Schultz: Well, the county clerk was still the major county official. He had to write letters for them in the beginning, before they did hire a staff.

I am uncertain of something here. It seems to me that Don Jensen had come--yes. We hired Don in 1956 and the freeholders were discussing the charter in 1957.

[End Tape 7, side A. Begin side B.]

Morris: Did you ask CSAC for help in recruiting Mr. Jensen?

Schultz: Yes, and in advertising. In fact, we asked them to do the recruiting for us. They did send out a job description and advertised widely. Then they did the preliminary interviewing. They had a great many applicants. Then they certified, as I recall, the top five to the Board of Supervisors. The board then interviewed three of those. I Don't recall anything more, but we did interview three. One of them was Don Jensen.

Morris: Was he a California graduate?

Schultz: He was a graduate of UC Berkeley who had gone into administration. At the time that we selected him, he was employed by the federal government in the job of setting up a democratic system of government in the Philippines.

Morris: How fascinating.

Schultz: Yes. He was far, far away when we hired him. He made a trip here for the interview, and then had gone back. We selected him, and he returned to Marin, and we began to experience some of the blessings of having a man who was well trained in administration.

Morris: Would he have worked with the board of freeholders?

Schultz: Well, he would have been questioned by them.

Morris: He would have been one of their resource people.

Schultz: They would have questioned him.

Morris: What happened with that committee? Was there a unanimous decision in favor of this charter that they drafted?

Schultz: No. Unfortunately, it was a divided decision. Three people voted against it. Those people were Chester McAtee, an attorney from Sausalito; William Bagley, an attorney from San Rafael; and Captain Oko, a man who lived in Inverness.

Morris: He was a sea captain?

Schultz: He was some kind of a sea captain. He had helped in the exodus of the Jews from Germany to Israel.

Morris: In '48?

Schultz: Yes. A very interesting person!

Morris: Is he still around?

Schultz: He passed on.

Morris: That's too bad. Is there any record why the three of them--?

Schultz: Yes, they went on record why they were opposed to it. They didn't want to see change. They thought that we had gotten along very well with the boards of supervisors over the years. They thought that it represented expanding costs. They just didn't think we needed it.

Morris: Did they just submit their report and go home?

Schultz: They did not just submit their report and go home. They submitted their minority report and campaigned actively against the charter.*

Morris: That gave it more visibility.

Schultz: Yes, it did give it more visibility, but it confused the voters. Here were three who had participated in the drafting of the charter, and who had voted on every recommendation that was in there, and now who, at the conclusion of it, turned around and said: We really don't favor this.

They campaigned effectively against it, and I was criticized by Mr. Fusselman, who also was opposed to it, for activitely heading a citizens' committee for the charter. He felt that the Board of Supervisors should keep hands off and let the public decide that in the face of so much misrepresentation.

One of the big arguments against the adoption of the charter was that a number of then-elected department heads would become appointed--among them was the county clerk who would be appointed. As I recall, only the district attorney, the assessor, and the sheriff remained as elective offices. All others were made appointive. So one of the slogans that was broadcast through Marin was "You Lose Your Right to Choose," as though that right was important to them for this long list of purely administrative offices!

Usually the voter, when he went into the polls, had no more idea what the function of the coroner was, for instance, or the recorder--[laughs]. The treasurer was sort of self-explanatory. But they were made nervous by the fact that they might be losing something that was precious to them.

*Including freeholder William T. Bagley, who ran for Assembly in the following election and won (1960).

Morris: Did the people in these elected jobs campaign?

Schultz: Yes, there was participation by the existing department heads against the adoption of the charter. Indeed, they put up money. They hired a campaign head, and he came forth with these slogans-- "Don't Buy a Pig in a Poke," "You Lose Your Right to Choose," and so on. They just sort of snowed the voter until he thought: Well, when in doubt, vote No. [Laughs]

Morris: Yes, that's an old slogan!

Were there Supervisors also being elected that year? This would be '58.

Schultz: It rotates, three and two, three and two. But there are supervisorial elections every two years.

Morris: We now have Mr. Gness and Mr. Marshall. Fusselman was re-elected the same year that you were? He was campaigning the same year that you were?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: Mr. Kehoe?

Schultz: Yes. It would probably have been maybe Kehoe and Gness, but I'm guessing now.

Morris: Would he have to stand for election at the next election after he was appointed?

Schultz: Well, he is appointed to fill out the unexpired terms, however long that might have been. I think it was a year and a half, or something like that. So he is appointed for a specific term. When that term expires, it's a regular election time, and he runs.

Re-election Campaign, 1956: Record of Accomplishments

Morris: The better question, probably, is to go back to your campaign in 1956. Were these issues of a charter or a proposed freeholders' board a part of your campaign for re-election to the supervisors? Did you get attacks on these issues?

Schultz: In '56, I ran on a basis of being strongly for the creation of a county executive position in the county. I was positively for that. I was positively for the selection of scenic property for the civic center. I was for sound planning and the preservation of open space.

Morris: You said that Mr. Balzan ran against you then?

Schultz: Yes, he did.

Morris: Did you have the same kind of scrap from him that you'd had in '52?

Schultz: Well, not the same kind, because now I had four years of experience on the board behind me. People had seen what kind of a supervisor I was, and that it wasn't theory with me. There was a great deal of knowledge based on experience as a councilman.

Morris: So that he didn't campaign as hard?

Schultz: He campaigned just as hard, but I campaigned much more effectively than I had four years previously, against the big field.

Morris: There were just the two of you running?

Schultz: No, there was another male candidate, William Rutherford. He had been on the grand jury during my first term of office. He was a resident of Mill Valley. In fact, he served for a time as the Mill Valley treasurer, until certain irregularities were brought to light, and he resigned in disgrace.

Morris: [Amusedly] And decided to run for the Board of Supervisors?

Schultz: Well, this was prior to his running. His lack of integrity had not yet reached public knowledge. But he was one of the candidates, and Balzan was the other.

Morris: You said that you campaigned more effectively. Did your campaign committee do better in fund-raising?

Schultz: When I say I campaigned more effectively, I refer to the fact that wherever I had a platform, I could speak from knowledge. In the first campaign, I was speaking from a position of--I might say--theory. I knew how it worked for city government. I knew how it worked for county government because of my own research on it.

- Schultz: But it was still theory. Now in '56, we had the advantage-- not very long, because Jensen only came to the county, I believe, in August, and the election was in November of that year. No, no, I'm getting screwed up here.
- Morris: You won in the primary.
- Schultz: Yes, I won in the primary.
- Morris: Would that be what is known as "running on your record"? You could point out that: This has happened since I have been a supervisor?
- Schultz: Yes. I could point to the creation of the Public Works Department, to the elimination of some longtime jobs in the county, such as the county surveyor, that have been a job for a long, long time. By the creation of the Public Works Department, you employed qualified engineers. All the building inspection comes under that department. The road-building comes under that department. Drainage and flood control--you really have a cohesive attack on those problems. You have a qualified staff to do it. That was one of the things that we pointed out. These improvements had been made.
- Morris: Did you have pretty much the same people on your campaign committee, and working for you?
- Schultz: I had Margaret Azevedo and Lee Athearn as the co-chairmen on my 1956 campaign. Many of the same friends who had been with me four years before were still behind me. We picked up some new ones on the way.
- Morris: Where did you pick up the new ones?
- Schultz: Newcomers to Marin, who were beginning to pay attention to local government.
- Morris: Did you see an increase in numbers of newcomers who wanted to take a part?
- Schultz: Yes. There was a wholesome growth in public concern about county government.
- Morris: That's interesting. Had some people dropped off as supporters during the years, or moved out of the county?
- Schultz: I don't recall that any dropped off because of disagreements on policies. People had left the county, and we had to replace them. But it was an easy campaign in '56, especially by contrast with the one in '52.

Morris: I can believe it!

Schultz: It was a waltz!

Morris: It must have been a tremendous relief to win in the primary.

Schultz: It was. It was indeed.

Morris: Was there any notable shift in what it cost to campaign, or in techniques?

Schultz: It cost me less to campaign in '56 than it had in '52.

Morris: Because of the shorter campaign?

Schultz: And also I was much better known to my constituency. There's a great deal of exposure in the press, because the Board of Supervisors' actions are under the spotlight regularly every week. Your conduct is held up for scrutiny. What you say is quoted, or misquoted, and you get a lot of exposure to the public. They get to know you.

Morris: In general, did you feel that the local press gave respectable coverage?

Schultz: Yes. I felt that the reporters who covered the activities of the Board of Supervisors were quite competent.

Morris: How about the papers' editorial policy?

Schultz: The editorial policy of the I-J has always been a disappointment to me. I have never felt that they really understand county government adequately.

Morris: Even with the various talented ladies who are on the reporting staff?

Schultz: That's right. [Laughs] They're not on the editorial staff! They're in other departments of the paper.

Morris: What about radio in Marin County?

Schultz: Well, KTIM began its existence as an offshoot of the newspaper.

Morris: The I-J?

Schultz: Yes.

- Morris: For county elections, would you use the Bay Area media, which was mostly in San Francisco?
- Schultz: No, I never did use the Bay Area media. I used KTIM to some extent, and newspaper ads and direct mail. Then door-to-door and coffees.
- Morris: This was your third campaign, including the city council, and you went out door-to-door yourself?
- Schultz: Yes, because there were so many new people.
- Morris: Did you have someone in charge of statistics and research to pinpoint where you'd come in contact with the most new people, either door-to-dooring or coffeering?
- Schultz: No, we didn't have that kind of availability of bodies, for one thing.
- Morris: I wondered if maybe your husband took an interest in this kind of thing.
- Schultz: Not in statistical records and surveys.
- Morris: How were he and your daughter holding up, by this point?
- Schultz: I guess they'd grown calloused! It no longer seemed to hurt so much!
- Morris: Would they come along and assist with the campaigning at all?
- Schultz: Yes, my husband never failed to participate in my campaigns. He was always interested and active.
- Morris: That's nice, that really is.
- Schultz: Yes indeed, it was nice. I'm sure I wouldn't have had the vim and vigor for it if there had been opposition.

A Supervisor's Workload

- Morris: How about the phone calls and the letters and the visitors at home that a supervisor would get?
- Schultz: Well, that did intrude on the family's life very much. I had a telephone listed so that people could get me. I didn't have an unlisted number, for instance, or hide behind my husband's name.

Schultz: I had my own telephone, and it was listed so that people could call me, and I never discouraged them from doing so.

I really do believe that this is our function.

Morris: How heavy is this kind of contact?

Schultz: A greeaaat deal. If I hadn't had household help, dinner would have been late every night of the world for the other members of the family, because so many calls came in at that time.

Morris: Did you have an office in the civic center?

Schultz: No office, no secretarial help of any kind. Your home had to be your office. It's so much better now. Each Supervisor has an office. He has an aide. He has ample secretarial help. He has a telephone up there.

Morris: A message service, at least?

Schultz: Yes, so that his home doesn't have to be invaded, so to speak.

Morris: Did the load of this kind of contact with individuals and groups on county business--how did that change during the years that you were a Supervisor?

Schultz: It increased every year. The load of public business increased every year, of the eight that I was there.

Morris: Could you give a rough kind of a figure of how much time it took overall?

Schultz: It took my total time, every day. There were no days that you could turn your mind off from county government. There were always places in the county where there were people with problems, and they wanted you to come and see them. We had a great many flood control problems, drainage problems, and a tremendous number of zoning and planning debates.

Morris: You would usually go and see what was going on?

Schultz: I always went, yes. I didn't wait to be called! I always read the minutes of the Planning Commission, so I was forewarned what was controversial. I would go and see what the situation was before it got to us on the board. I would know how to react.

Morris: Did other Supervisors do this kind of thing too?

Schultz: To a degree. I don't think that any of them dedicated their whole time to it the way I did, but then I just happened to be so interested in government itself and how it functioned, that this was a continuing pleasure to me to get out and do it.

Morris: Did you ever feel pushed, or find a shortage of time to do personal, private kinds of things?

Schultz: Yes. Shopping was always kind of a pressure thing. It had to be done, and I never relinquished that, even when we had a housekeeper. I did all the shopping and the buying for the household. Sometimes that got to be a pressure.

Morris: How about time just to sit and talk to your family, and personal things?

Schultz: Well, my husband and I had this ranch out in Chileno Valley, and we would go out there. There was no phone, so weekends, unless there was something breaking, were tranquil.

Morris: What a sensible idea.

Schultz: [Laughs] No phone at that ranch! Oh, it was so peaceful and so beautiful. We had built a dam across a stream on the property, and this little lake attracted a great many waterfowl, and it was such a pleasure to just sit there and watch these waterfowl--blue heron, you know, and sometimes gulls would come there. Egrets. It was very interesting.

Morris: What a nice recreation.

Schultz: Yes, and of course, Joyce--

Morris: By now, she's a teenager?

Schultz: Yes, she is. She always liked to take four or six of her friends, so my weekends were often spent cooking, you know, preparing to feed them.

Role of the Grand Jury

Morris: You mentioned the grand jury a while ago. I'd like to hear some more about that. They first turn up in the Supervisors' story about 1954.

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: You mentioned that the Kroeger Report came out of their recommendations.

Schultz: Yes, it did.

Morris: How did that come about?

Schultz: The grand jury wanted information about the county administration, and felt their own inadequacy as a heterogeneous group of citizens, and asked to be authorized to hire a survey to be made. They hired Louis J. Kroeger and Associates. That report was submitted to the grand jury and, of course, to the Board of Supervisors, and became a public document.

Morris: Did the Planning Commission have a role in that? Did they ask the grand jury, or did they consult with the grand jury on that?

Schultz: No, I think not. It was the grand jury.

Morris: I thought the grand jury took its direction from the district attorney.

Schultz: They do, in all criminal matters. For municipal or county investigations, they can seek guidance from him if they choose. They are not necessarily guided by him.

Morris: I see. Was it the particular individuals on the grand jury?

Schultz: It was the individuals on the grand jury whose individual background, in county government had spurred them to look into it.

Morris: Does a grand jury often get into these administrative areas?

Schultz: They're supposed to look into the administration of all the departments of county government. They're supposed to do that. That's one of their functions. They also are supposed to look into the administration of city governments, but they often don't do that. They merely focus on county government.

Morris: Why is that?

Schultz: Perhaps because it's much more visible. There were at that time nine cities. There are eleven now. There's only one time that I remember that they got into municipal government. That was a situation in Mill Valley, where it was claimed that members of the City Council were renting equipment that they owned for city work. This, of course, is a conflict of interest, and there was an investigation.

Morris: Is there any carryover in the members of the grand jury?

Schultz: No. There rarely is anyone appointed to a succeeding grand jury. Now, they may serve again after an interval. They may be reappointed, but there are no carryover members from year to year.

Morris: In general, how did you view the people who were appointed to the grand juries?

Schultz: In some of them I was disappointed, and for some of them I had a great deal of healthy respect. It's like any other thing where you get a broad cross-section of citizens. There will be some who approach their duties from a trivial perspective, and there are those who are very much in earnest and want to do a job in the public interest.

Morris: In '54, '55, and '57, they were interested in the matter of tax assessment and then, of course, in the budget study. It almost seems that their interest was paralleling yours, in a way.

Schultz: Yes, and there's a certain logic about that, because these were the things that were in the news.

Morris: Did the Supervisors and the grand jury have any contact between each other?

Schultz: Well, to a degree, a rather minor degree. They had nothing to do with the selection of grand jury members. That was with the judges of the superior court and, of course, the names that actually land on the grand jury are drawn by lot. But the names that are put into the barrel, from which the final selection is made, are names selected by superior court judges.

Unquestionable, they would seek people that they knew. Some of it was friendship, and some of it was asking their friends: Who do you think would be good to be on the grand jury? There came a

Schultz: time a few years ago when a local organization called the Marin Council For Civic Affairs set up a committee headed by a young attorney to recommend some changed approaches in how people get on grand juries.

Morris: Good for them.

Schultz: Yes! They made a very careful study, and recommended that the effort to recruit possible appointees be greatly broadened. They suggested that the judges, rather than relying on their circle of friends and acquaintances, send out invitations broadly to organizations throughout the county--women's organizations, the League of Women Voters, the Association of University Women, the chambers of commerce, the church groups, the homeowners' associations, and so on, and asked them to submit names of potential jurors. That's the way it's done now, and the result is that a great many more people are finding out about the grand jury and its functions, and are expressing an interest in serving on it.

It doesn't mean that they're going to land on the grand jury because of this. It's still a matter of chance which nineteen names are drawn out. There are a great many more names in that barrel, now, and from a much broader cross-section of citizenry than used to be the case.

Morris: Eventually the grand jury investigations challenged the county assessor and brought in the Board of Equalization to study assessment practices?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: Did the grand jury activities feed into, or increase the difficulties with the civic center, and those related issues, as they got rather heated?

Schultz: There may have been a relationship between some of the problems that we had, with respect to site selection and architect selection and so on, because of certain animosities that grew out of a grand jury focus on the assessor's office. There was a kind of a coalition that existed, a kind of brotherhood [laughs] among the officeholders.

District Attorney and County Counsel

Morris: Where did the district attorney stand in all of this?

Schultz: There had been a succession of district attorneys. There was William Weissich, who was the agent of the Board of Supervisors for our negotiations in our efforts to buy the Scettrini property, even though the board was divided in its objective. Mr. Fusselman was very much opposed to the acquisition of the 140-acre ranch. He wanted to stay in the heart of San Rafael, and so did the county clerk, and so did some others in the courthouse.

But four people on the Board of Supervisors agreed that long-range needs of the county dictated that we should have room for growth.

Morris: I drove past there the other day, and was very much aware of the lie of the land. In 1976, there is no distinction; San Rafael runs right out to, and is beginning to trickle along beyond the civic center.

Schultz: That's right. But there was a lot of open space free at that time, and it was isolated out there, because it was a dairy ranch. Mr. Weissich was our negotiator, and he was the district attorney. This caused him at times, I think, to express his opinion on various policies of the Board of Supervisors. He was very much opposed to the creation of the position of county counsel for the Board of Supervisors.

Morris: Why would that be?

Schultz: It took the responsibility away from his office. Prior to that time, the district attorney was the only legal advisor in the courthouse. The district attorney's functions really are more criminal prosecution than anything else. It's almost exclusively that. But the Board of Supervisors was constantly having to turn to the district attorney's office to send in to us someone who could advise us on questions that related to planning and zoning, and other policy decisions that we were making.

Morris: And interpreting state codes?

Schultz: Interpreting state code. The thing that caused me to propose that we create the office of county counsel, recruit for a capable attorney for that office, and have him responsible solely to the

Schultz: Board of Supervisors was that we were always getting a different person, who didn't know what had gone on before, from the DA's office.

Morris: That's very frustrating.

Schultz: There was never any regularity or continuity, because there couldn't be! I remember that this was one of the conflicts that I had in point of view with Bill Weissich. He vehemently opposed the creation of the office of county counsel. I said: It's gotta be. We need it.

Morris: Was this part of the charter discussion that came out of the freeholders?

Schultz: I don't recollect that it was.

Morris: It was separate, later?

Schultz: It was an action that the Board of Supervisors took on its own.

Morris: Did you introduce this idea?

Schultz: Yes, I did introduce this idea. It was met with majority support.

Morris: Who seconded it, do you remember?

Schultz: Probably it was Jim Marshall! [Laughter]

Morris: When did Mr. Weissich leave the district attorney's office? Did he go on to something else, or was he defeated?

Schultz: He was not defeated. He chose to go into private practice. Then he was succeeded, as I recall, by Bruce Bales, who is still the incumbent district attorney.

Morris: Was this while you were still in office?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: Is there anything else about the grand jury, and how it has either influenced or shaped the way things developed?

Schultz: It is my conviction that the existence of an annual grand jury has been the thrust that has brought change in county government. Here is a group of people who are taking a fresh look at the scene, and

Schultz: they are discovering things that they think can be improved, and so they make these recommendations. There is a certain historical respectability to the functions of grand juries, and they should be listened to.

Of course, the newspapers always gave space to reporting their recommendations, and then as an aftermath of that, would come a public discussion. I feel--to give grand juries their proper due--that the fact that we do at last have an approach to county administrator government stems back to grand-jury action. The fact that we do have a very much more equitable system of assessing stems back to action of a grand jury. A great many other improvements that have come in internal administration of county government have come because grand juries have turned the spotlight on inadequacies.

Morris: That's interesting that there's direct relationship.

Schultz: Yes, there is.

X CAUSE CELEBRÉ: FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT AND THE CIVIC CENTER

Health and Welfare Needs vs. County Office Space

Morris: I guess that we can attack the civic center now.

Schultz: Yes! [Laughter]

Morris: A number of things are most interesting in reading Dr. Radford's account of it, and then in connection with the things you have said. The one that strikes me most is: I gather that in addition to the need for a centralized county administrative center, there was also at that time a recommendation that Marin County needed a new county hospital and a new juvenile hall.

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: Do you recall the discussions on the Board of Supervisors that ended up with the civic center being the first priority?

Schultz: Yes, I do recall those things. When I first went on the Board of Supervisors in January of '53, Marin County had Lucas Valley Farm, it was called. It was the poor farm, where indigents were cared for. They were cared for--that is, those who were housed there, were housed there on recommendation of various supervisors. That was the way they got admittance.

We didn't have the kind of welfare department in those days, you know, that certified need and so on.

Morris: The poor farm was still in existence in '53, when you came on the supervisors?

Schultz: Yes, indeed it was. There was a small house on the same grounds as the poor farm (it's a rather extensive acreage) that was our juvenile hall. It was just a home, and in the home was a middle-aged couple who took in the children that were placed there by the courts. That's the kind of juvenile hall we had when I first went on the Board of Supervisors. It was small and homey.

Morris: As a place for dependent kids, and neglected kids?

Schultz: Much more than delinquent kids. Then while I was on the board, we were presented with the need for expansion, because more children were being referred to the caretaking couple than there was room for. There was a building out there that had been nurses' quarters--nurses who worked in the poor farm there for the indigents. We revamped the nurses' home into a juvenile hall, with the help of architects.

In the years that I was on the Board of Supervisors, we did that about three times, including building a new building for juvenile hall. At the same time, the population of the poor farm was increasing. It was an old structure, and needed many things done to it.

I recall that we were warned that the building was unsafe for human occupancy because the heavy tile roof could crash in on it at any moment, so we removed the tile roof and strengthened the supports and made it safer, but it was still inadequate. The question arose: should we build a new county farm, a new facility?

In the meantime, the welfare department was growing, more and more duties were being imposed upon the county by state law.

Morris: And more state funds were available to you?

Schultz: That's right. It was a matter of choosing the direction of the greatest need at the moment. We were renting space in thirteen different areas in the county for county government functions, and every department was bulging. There was real pressure there to get the housing for county functions. The philosophy of caring for older people was changing. It was becoming almost an intolerable concept to segregate and house old people in an isolated area like that. They should be hospitalized in our existing hospitals, and cared for there by subsidy.

[End Tape 7. Begin Tape 8, side A.]

Morris: So the theory of caring for the aged was changing?

Schultz: There was a differing point of view. I had been very active in an early study on aging, and agreed with the perspective that they must be kept in the community. They must not be isolated. They must receive the very finest possible medical care. Therefore, I was opposed to building a new facility out at Lucas Valley Farm.

Morris: There were also other public health functions being added to the Department of Public Health?

Schultz: That's right. It was just growing all the time, also.

Pay-as-you-go Funding, Expanding Services, Population Growth

Schultz: So when the question arose as to what should we do about those facilities out there, Mr. Fusselman said: We should take the money that we have accumulated on a pay-as-you-go basis to build facilities for county functions, and put it out there for the old people.

Morris: He wanted it to stay there at Lucas Valley?

Schultz: He wanted it to stay at that facility there, and I disagreed. I said that we should seek contracts with the local hospitals to care for patients that needed to be there, where they would have superior facilities. They shouldn't get third-rate care. We should not put money in another structure there. We should proceed to use the money that had been accumulating for building a civic center for building a civic center.

Morris: I'm fascinated, from today's economic perspective, that you had a pay-as-you-go fund that had accumulated capital.

Schultz: Yes, it's almost a phenomenon. Just as Marin was unique among counties in that it had no bonded debt. This county had no bonded debt.

When I went on the Board of Supervisors, we were at that point just retiring the last of a twenty-five year road bond that had been voted in Marin County, and that was the only bonded debt this county had. We were [laughs] philosophically opposed to voting bonds that usually meant you paid double for everything that you build.

Morris: A good Republican philosophy! [Laughter]

Schultz: And here I am a confirmed Democrat; but I do believe in pay-as-you-go. So we put something in the tax rate every year to begin to accumulate funds so that if we found a site, we would have the money with which to build. That administration building didn't cost the taxpayers a penny in interest at all, because it was paid for before it was built.

Morris: And you'd been investing that money?

Schultz: Yes, we had been investing that at interest, of course. That was one of the best deals that the voters ever had.

Morris: What was happening, in general, to the tax base in the fifties?

Schultz: It was expanding rapidly, because so much property was being subdivided and developed.

Morris: So that, in effect, those additional residents brought in more tax money. Did it cover the expansion in services?

Schultz: No, it didn't. This was one of the things that the assessor pointed out to us, that a residence does not pay its own way. There are so many services required by residences that the revenue produced by the taxes on it never covers the costs. For fire, for instance, and welfare and streets and lights and sewers and this, that, and the other.

This was the time that we began to recognize that Marin County had a problem as a bedroom county. This county should see if it could attract any kind of clean, light industry, because that kind of property tax base does produce more in revenue than it requires back in services. The county had several deficiencies, as far as being in a position to attract the kind of development.

Our water supply was limited then as now. Industry requires an abundance of cheap water to be attracted to a community. We didn't have that, and we didn't have a rail line that would serve industries. We didn't have the level terrain. Most of the level ground in Marin was marshy, and required fill and piling and that sort of thing. There were so many strikes against this county in trying to offer the same things to industry as San Mateo County, for instance, or Oakland and Alameda.

It was at that time that I said: We've got to approach the needs of the Bay Area from a different point of view. We have incomparable recreation facilities here. We should be the recreational

Schultz: treasure of the Bay Area, and in order to allow us to keep our mountain open, and our ridges unspoiled, and so on, we should have some kind of an agreement with Oakland and Berkeley and San Francisco and San Mateo whereby they share their industrial revenue with us.

Morris: I see you were an early advocate of a regional park!

Schultz: I was, I was.

Morris: Is that what got you interested in regional government?

Schultz: Well, probably the perspective is. I have always been one who advocated regional solutions to our governmental problems.

Morris: How was that idea received?

Schultz: Rather laughingly, I think. Nobody could see Alameda or Oakland sharing their industrial tax base with us. I still think it's a good idea.

Morris: Oh, I think you're with the tides of time.

Schultz: Yes.

Evolution of a Civic Center Plan

Morris: So the decision was made, because there was money at hand, to go ahead with the civic center?

Schultz: Yes. The decision was made on a four-to-one basis that we would proceed to select an architect and build.

Morris: And that was a four-to-one decision also in favor of the Scettrini property north of the city?

Schultz: That's correct.

Morris: Was there any special reason why that property was available at that time?

Schultz: Yes. It was on the edge of a growing city, and sooner or later, it would have become residential development. At that time, it was a dairy ranch, and available. It was recommended to the Board of Supervisors by a citizens' committee on which Caroline Livermore was a member--

Morris: That was 1953--

Schultz: --they recommended the site.

Morris: '53 was the agreement to relocate the civic center, and then you appointed the site selection committee. The site was purchased-- I put together a brief chronology to help me keep things straight-- in April of '56. That took close to three years.

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: Did you envision at that time that it would be another six years before the civic center was built?

Schultz: No. No, indeed. In fact, it was a great disappointment to me, heartbreaking one, when the growth of county business was such that we had to build what we called "the annex" to the courthouse. A new building! We had to take the money from the fund that we had accumulated to build the civic center and put it into a new structure next to the courthouse. Space was demanded by a new judge who had been appointed. The law says that if the county Board of Supervisors does not provide the space, then the judge can go out and build it himself, and bill the county!

So really, we were over a barrel! I mean, we had to do it.

Morris: So that while the Frank Lloyd Wright design was being considered--

Schultz: We had to hire an architect and build a new structure in the heart of San Rafael as a stopgap measure, because of that need for space. That did delay things. You can't spend the same dollar twice.

Morris: That's true. The pay-as-you-go fund was started after you came on the Supervisors, as a capital resource?

Schultz: That's right.

Morris: There were also other sources of money in that pot. There were the veterans'--

Schultz: It wasn't in the same pot. There was a tax that had been levied following World War II. The county had voted to--that is the Supervisors had decided to levy a small tax annually for a veterans' memorial. It had been accumulating before I went on the board. It was always referred to as the veterans' fund. When it was begun, the decision as to what would be done with the money had not been



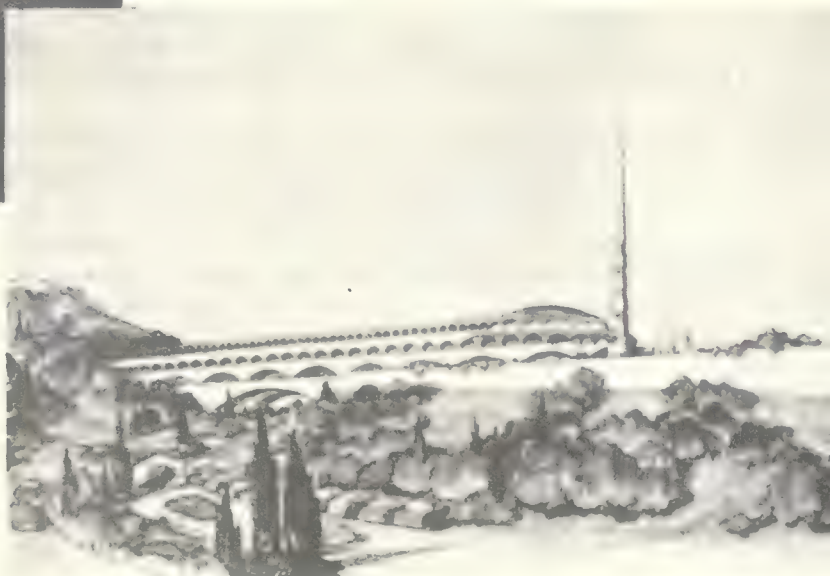
Courthouse (left) and
Hall of Justice addition
(below) in San Rafael



MARIN COUNTY
ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDINGS



1958 drawings for Frank
Lloyd Wright designs for
civic center at Santa Venetia



Schultz: made. It was conceived that it might be distributed among the various American Legion posts, so that each would get a lump sum and could build their own facility.

It was by a vote of the seventeen veteran posts themselves that they decided themselves to recommend that the money be kept intact and be spent at the civic center for a public auditorium, a gesture of consideration by the veterans themselves. They knew the community needed some such place, and so this is what they decided that they would like to have done with it.

Morris: Was this about the same time that the decision had been made to have a central county civic park?

Schultz: Well, I don't know that it was at the same time. We always knew that we had that veterans' money, and it was after the acquisition of the civic center site that then there was a focus on where it might go.

It came along as a kind of natural aftermath.

Morris: Could that money be used for building the civic center itself, a county building with county offices?

Schultz: No, not it could not!

Morris: But was it part of the thinking in selecting a site as large as one hundred and forty acres that there'd be room, then, to locate some other things on it?

Schultz: Yes, that's right. At the time that a hundred and forty acres was bought, it was cheaper to buy the whole piece than it was to pay a severance damage by taking only a portion of it. So it was much cheaper to take the whole thing. That was another battle that was fought on the Board of Supervisors, where there were four of us who were in favor of it, and Mr. Fusselman wanted to buy only twenty-five acres! If you look at it today, you can see what a shortchange policy that would have been! That was another battle to fight, getting the final decision solidly behind us to buy the whole thing.

We at that time envisioned it really being a civic center in the sense that there would be state buildings, and possibly the City of San Rafael might wish something there. We saw it as a complex of government buildings. Now it isn't going to be that. It's exclusively a county civic center, and we're going to need every foot of that ground.

Morris: Had the friends of Mr. Fusselman at the courthouse arrived at a point where they were going to disagree with you and the forces of modern public administration on any issue? In other words, had this kind of polarization begun, do you think?

Schultz: I think it began with my election in '52, [laughs] the fact that there were certain ideas that were going to be resisted. If I broached this proposal or that proposal, the very fact that it came from that source would get certain adverse reactions, right off the bat.

Community Has Its Say in Selection of Frank Lloyd Wright as Architect

Morris: It seems to me that the year and a half is quite a long time to take to select an architect.

Schultz: Yes, [laughs] that was a long time. There was so much controversy embroiled in the selection.

Morris: Was it just Mr. Wright that caused controversy, or were there other controversial men considered?

Schultz: No, no. There were many other architects who wanted to get into the scene. Mr. Neutra came to Marin, and proposed that the county hire him. He would work with local architects, and for a lesser fee. There were individual architects who were presenting their wares. It was just an area full of controversy.

Morris: Why was the architect selection committee made up of department heads?

Schultz: It seemed to be a wise thing for us to involve the auditor, and certainly the administrator, and certainly the head of planning, and certainly the head of public works, and certainly our legal counsel in a committee to advise us. So we created the civic center building committee with those department heads.

Morris: Indeed all worthy. Was there also a citizens' advisory committee?

Schultz: There was no citizens' advisory committee on the selection of an architect. There was an official committee that was to function on behalf of the Board of Supervisors, made up of those five department heads.

Morris: Why were there no citizens' advisory committees at that point? There had been earlier.

Schultz: There had been earlier, when we were considering broad policies. Now we were at the point of the necessity to make rather quick decisions, time-wise. It didn't seem to be the function of a citizens' committee.

Morris: I was just curious. Did the department heads' committee advertise or announce? Was it a competition, in a sense?

Schultz: Yes. It even was proposed that we have a competition. It was pointed out that it would be very time-consuming and expensive, and, yes, I believe that the building committee interviewed twenty-four architectural firms, themselves, before any of them were recommended to the Board of Supervisors. The Board of Supervisors did interview Neutra, I recall, personally. There were other architects who sent us their brochures and asked to be considered.

Morris: Would Frank Lloyd Wright have entered the picture if he hadn't happened to be in the Bay Area lecturing that year?

Schultz: He had already entered the picture. The fact that he was here for the Bernard Maybeck lecture was a fortuitous circumstance that made it possible for the board to meet him personally.

Morris: How did he enter the picture, then?

Schultz: He entered the picture in January, by reason of my calling Mary Summers and her husband, and saying: Why can't we really reach high and consider having Frank Lloyd Wright design our civic center?

I'd been leafing through an issue of House Beautiful that was devoted to the works of Frank Lloyd Wright. I was really impressed with his architecture. I had already read his autobiography and many of his books, and was very much impressed with him.

So I called Mary and said: Why can't we think in those terms?

Morris: What did she say?

Schultz: She said: Why don't you write him a letter.

I struggled and wrote a letter to him. I didn't even know where to send that letter! I also had a great deal of difficulty with how to say it, because I had no authority, you know, to suggest that he

Schultz: be interested in our project. I had no authority to do that. You select an architect. They do not compete for that. They're not supposed to.

In the course of the writing of this letter, I called Mary back and said: I don't even know where to send the letter.

She said: Why don't you call up Aaron Green, his west coast representative.

So I made a telephone call to Aaron Green. I told him I was having a hard time drafting a letter to suggest to Mr. Wright that he should look at our project and present himself.

Morris: A very delicate maneuver! [Laughs]

Schultz: Yes, it was. But it was out of that that then Mr. Green said: He's coming to San Francisco. He's going to be here and give the Bernard Maybeck lecture at UC.

So out of that grew the arrangements whereby--

Morris: Did you ever write the letter?

Schultz: No, I never wrote the letter. I could abandon that then, because events took care of things. I would have gotten in trouble for that letter if I had written it, because I had no authority to write it. I was only one of five.

Morris: I can see where a letter could have caused problems. You could make a phone call and start the ball rolling.

Schultz: Yes, it was better so.

Morris: Does history include a recollection of how Mr. Wright received the suggestion?

Schultz: I recall that a group of us went to San Francisco to Mr. Wright's offices to meet with him that day that he was to give the lecture that night. There were the four supervisors and Mr. Brigham, our director of public works; Mary Summers; Don Jensen; Lee Jordan, our county counsel; and the auditor, Mr. DeLisle--the people who were our building committee.

We were all there to meet him. We were so impressed with Mr. Wright that we decided to have dinner and then go to the lecture that night in Berkeley, and hear him from the platform. And we did!

- Morris: What struck you, in that first meeting in San Francisco?
- Schultz: His originality. His originality, and the creative genius that just sort of emanates from him.
- Morris: He hadn't seen the site at that point?
- Schultz: No, he had not seen the site at that point.
- Morris: What kinds of things would he say then about a potential structure for a site he had never seen?
- Schultz: [Laughs] Well, he expatiated on his theory of organic architecture, that a building should grow out of its site, should never be imposed upon it. We told him that we had these rolling hills and hoped that we could retain the natural contours of the land, and not violate nature's design. He said that that was what he'd spent his life doing.
- Morris: You said things he wanted to hear, too.
- Schultz: We said things that he could live with. Then when he finally came to Marin, Mr. Brigham got into a car with him. Mr. Wright told him where to drive that car. There was no road up those rounded hills, out at the civic center site. There was no road to take them to the crest of it, but he just told Mr. Brigham where to drive that car, and they got to the top. [Laughs] Mr. Brigham was so impressed! He was an engineer, you see. For a man to have that at-oneness with the earth--that's impressive. It impressed the engineers.
- Morris: I can see where the Supervisors and a site selection committee of citizens would be inspired by a vision of government, and in a sense, a memorial to what a government ought to be. I'm interested as to whether the rest of the people on that staff building committee got caught up in this too. Normally, they're thinking about their budgets and the nuts and bolts.
- Schultz: Well, I know that Don Jensen, the administrator, was always very enthusiastic about it. I know that Lee Jordan was enthusiastic about it. Are these the people to whom you refer?
- Morris: Yes, the department heads, people who were going to run the business. Normally, they're viewed as civil servants. Their concern is getting out the wash.

Schultz: That's right, with the practical sides of things. And yes, I recall that Marvin Brigham, the engineer, frequently reminded us that, in discussions: Remember now, people say that he can't stay within a budget, that his buildings are expensive! and so on.

This was when I made some journeys--there's a house in Carmel that was out on the ocean that was designed by Mr. Wright. We went down there one weekend, and I took my courage in my hands and went up and knocked on the door, and said who I was and where I was from and why I was there.

I said: We are considering the employment of Mr. Wright. We have been told that his structures are impractical, that they always exceed the budget, et cetera, et cetera. What is your experience?

The lady who lived there was very, very gracious. She invited me in. I've never forgotten the spectacular view from her living room!

She couldn't say enough that was praiseworthy of Mr. Wright. She was really a Wright fan. She said that it had not exceeded the budget, that they had not had difficulty getting contractors to build. This was one of the pet threats that was made, that no respectable contractor would bid on his plans.

Morris: Because it was technically difficult?

Schultz: That they were uncertain about what their costs were going to be. I don't know the technicalities. I know that bids have to be precise. We'd built some houses ourselves. You have to have the specifics--it can't be a generalization. I just didn't believe those rumors, that no respectable contractor would bid on a Wright building. It turned out to be utterly untrue. The bids came in under the architect's estimate.

Morris: Was it considered somehow inappropriate for Frank Lloyd Wright to design a civic center for Marin?

Schultz: Inappropriate in the minds of the people who were prejudiced against him as a person. Of course, there are people who do not react favorably to Frank Lloyd Wright designs for buildings. There are a lot more who do, fortunately.

Morris: I get the sense that some of the people in the county thought it was in that territory called "highfalutin'", and inappropriate in that sense.

Schultz: Yes, inappropriate in that he had, I guess, a reputation for grandeur that some people thought unnecessary in public buildings, that public buildings should be simple and austere and without adornment, completely functional, and contribute nothing to the delight of the eye. In fact, that was what Mr. Jones said we should have! We should have a twelve-story, straight up-and-down building with a bunch of elevators and a lot of corridors, so they could get their work done fast.

Of course, there was a lot of criticism from both Mr. Jones and Mr. Fusselman about the design that was presented to us. Mr. Fusselman said it looked like a steamship. They scoffed at the horizontal lines as not being the kind of civic center building that they could respect.

Morris: Or were familiar with?

Schultz: Certainly what they were familiar with.

Morris: Would this have contributed to the increasing animosity, as time went on?

Schultz: Yes, I think it did. I think it did, because those of us who did react to Frank Lloyd Wright's organic architecture were really enthusiastic about it. We fought for him every inch of the way.

Morris: How did it come about that there were not one but two meetings at the San Rafael High School, to present Mr. Wright to the community? Was that customary for the Supervisors?

Schultz: No. No, it wasn't customary. But perhaps, too, to be really accurate, it was without precedent. The old courthouse was our only edifice that could be called a public building of note, you see, and it was very old. Here we had an opportunity for a new structure, or series of structures, or cluster of structures, and the name of the architect had resulted in protest.

It seemed that it was right to present the individual to the voters, and let them appraise him for themselves. That was the occasion of the visit, really, so the public could be there and hear him, and ask him questions, and get a reaction to him.

Morris: Was there a sense that this was a potentially historic undertaking?

Schultz: Yes, there was very much of that sense. That meeting was absolutely jampacked. There wasn't standing room in the high school.

Morris: There was the comment that he went out there and insulted everybody, and they loved it! [Laughter]

Schultz: Yes. I think Margaret Azevedo is the source of that remark. She was there. He did. He railed against automobiles, [laughs] and denounced subdividers, and held forth in his inimitable way on some of his pet hates. The public did love it!

Morris: Why do you suppose they liked it? Those were pretty startling statements for 1956 and '57.

Schultz: Especially in Marin, where there were so many ranches going onto the drawing board as subdivisions. They were, you see, violating the land. They were not respecting nature's edicts. A good many people certainly agreed then with what Mr. Wright was saying. This certainly wasn't the way to treat land.

Morris: Was it one of those cases where somebody expresses a new idea, and you recognize that that is not new, but what you think too, but you've never thought about it before?

Schultz: I think there had to be a basic agreement among the people, you know, that: What he's saying is true. That is really what I think, but nobody has said it that way before.

Morris: So they responded to that.

Schultz: I didn't hear any adverse comment, but there could have been, you know. There could have been adverse comments then, but I just didn't hear them.

Morris: And that was the night that the contract was signed for him to be the architect.

Schultz: That's right. If we hadn't signed it that night, we didn't know what lay ahead of us the next day. When he appeared at the Supervisors' meeting the next day, the room was filled with veterans and people there to protest the county signing a contract with him. If the contract had not already been signed, there might have been different consequences.

Morris: You think there might have been a few waverers on the Board of Supervisors?

Schultz: There might have been, in the face of a hostile audience. There might have been. I don't know. But there wasn't any need for there to be, because it was already signed.

Morris: How did that rumor come to the Supervisors that the contract might get lost between that night and the next day? Dr. Radford reports that.

Schultz: Yes, I told Dr. Radford how that happened. It happened that I was working late in the courthouse that night. I had things in my desk that I had to take care of. Most everyone had gone home. The courthouse was almost vacant. I heard voices out in the hall, which led me to believe that the contract was not going to be available to us the next day. It would be lost. So I called the chairman of the Board of Supervisors, and I asked him if he had a carbon copy of it. He said: Yes, I have it in my pocket.

I said: I suggest that you bring it with you tonight, and let's sign it tonight.

And he did, and we did. You see, this is an episode that makes me believe that there is a destiny that shapes our ends. It was purely accidental that I happened to be late in the courthouse. It was accidental that the speakers didn't realize that there were ears there to hear.

Morris: Were they that specific in what they had in mind?

Schultz: Yes, the contract was conveniently lost.

Morris: They had already "lost" it?

Schultz: Yes, they "lost" it. [Laughs]

XI THE WEB OF COUNTY POLITICS: FISCAL AND PERSONNEL ISSUES

Further Observations on Supervisors

Morris: The chairman of the Supervisors at that point was--?

Schultz: Walter Castro.

Morris: Now he's a new name. Had he just been elected?

Schultz: He was appointed. He was appointed to fill a vacancy. Let's see-- whose? It might have been Mr. Whitely. What year did Bill Whitely die?*

Morris: Was Mr. Castro appointed to the board, and then promptly selected as chairman?

Schultz: I believe that's the way it was. I don't remember him sitting on the board and not being chairman, but he might have.

Morris: I would have thought that being chairman of the Supervisors took some seniority or maneuvering or something.

Schultz: It takes maneuvering. I mean, the chairman of the board is selected by the other members of the Board of Supervisors. He's not elected by the people. He's selected by the other members of the Board of Supervisors. Mr. Fusselman was chairman when I first went on the board, sort of by reason of seniority, because Mr. Bagshaw had been chairman of the board for a number of years. Then he ran for election to the state senate, and vacated the position.

*Whitely died, and Castro was appointed to replace him, in November, 1953.

Schultz: At the reorganization of the board, following that election, Mr. Fusselman became its chairman, as a holdover member. Then at some point along the way, we elected Kehoe as our chairman. Kehoe had a seizure, a heart attack that frightened him, and he resigned. Just like that. He called Mr. Fusselman to tell him that he was resigning, and then when the board reorganized, it seems to me that Mr. Fusselman again became chairman.

Morris: It's interesting that Mr. Castro would have become chairman quite so soon after going on the Supervisors.

Schultz: Quite soon after going on the Board of Supervisors.

Morris: Did he have special qualities that made that likely to happen?

Schultz: He was an even-tempered individual, and very fair, and by that time, you see, there were some feelings that existed.

Morris: Was he allied with any set of feelings?

Schultz: He wasn't. He came in like a new broom. If there were alliances, I was not aware of them. I remember calling him up to tell him that I looked forward to meeting him and working with him after the-- seems to me there was no election! But who else ran? Oh, we really need to get the facts clear.

Morris: Could I check with the Supervisors' office, or with somebody at the civic center?

Schultz: Yes, for the succession of the different years that people came on the board and how they got there, whether they were elected or whether they were appointed. The person who would probably be able to tell you quickly would be Francelle Warner. She is clerk to the Board of Supervisors. Fran, they call her. Fran Warner.

[Interview 6: 20 April 1976]

[Begin Tape 9, side A]

Morris: I talked with Fran Warner as you suggested. She had all the information handy about when people went on the Board of Supervisors, and whether they were appointed or elected.

Schultz: So did I. Apparently Bill Wright was elected to the office, and did not complete his term. That was when Gness was appointed again.

Morris: But you felt that Mr. Wright was supportive as a colleague?

Schultz: Oh, very! He was very quick to recognize the benefits of the manager principle. Therefore, it didn't take a lot of selling. First of all, he's a corporation man, and he knows how--that's where the manager principle came from, our business corporations.

Morris: Did it?

Schultz: Oh, yes. Some city councilmen in the midwest looked at how efficiently business was running itself, and said: Why don't we adopt that form to local government, where we have a policy board and we have somebody who will build the decisions that are made, and carries them out.

That's really where it came from.

Morris: I had never heard that connection before, but it's very logical, once you've described it. Do you remember what corporation Mr. Wright was with.

Schultz: I do not, but I do recall that he worked for oil companies, and went from here to Iran. I don't remember what corporation Bill was with.

When Bill was on the board, as I recall, he was not working for a corporation. He was an engineer, and had been educated as an engineer. But he had a ranch up in Novato, and he also had a business there. It was a seed business that still is there. I think his sons run it. That's where that little Gness airport is. It's on what formerly was acres owned by Mr. Wright.

Morris: So Mr. Gness and Mr. Wright were friends and acquaintances?

Schultz: They were friends from way back, I presume. Bill Wright had lived there for a long time, and reared his family there.

Morris: It's a very odd piece of chronology in there.

Schultz: Yes, these appointments!

Morris: And then elections and then reappointments.

Schultz: It is rather interesting, and unusual.

- Morris: So Mr. Gness would have been appointed the first time by Governor Warren and the second time by Governor Knight.
- Schultz: That's interesting, because actually, Bill Wright was a Republican. Bill Gness is ostensibly a Democrat, [laughs] but he was very often the Democrat who supported the Republicans. That would make him, I think, acceptable to a Republican governor.
- Morris: Is this because this is his style, or he didn't have very strong convictions as a Democrat?
- Schultz: He didn't really have very strong convictions as a Democrat.
- Morris: I see. What was his general attitude towards government at the county level?
- Schultz: Bill concentrated on what he affectionately called "his people." His people were the people who lived in Novato, in that district. His interest didn't go very far beyond the geographical confines of his district.
- Morris: So that as far as the rest of the county was concerned, what the other Supervisors wanted to do was all right with him?
- Schultz: Of course, there's always a certain amount of horsetrading going on at budget time. He would state what the needs and desires of his district were, and then play ball on that basis. [Laughs] He'd give a little here, and take a little there! But he took care of the interests of his people.
- Morris: How about Mr. Castro, who also came in by the appointive route?
- Schultz: Walter Castro was a local businessman who had many friendships in West Marin, because I believe that had been his early home. Walter was a genial person. He had many friends, and made friends very easily. He opened the first garage, I think, in San Rafael, when automobiles came in to take the place of horses! [Laughs]
- Morris: That's really bridging quite a span!
- Schultz: Then he opened, with his son, one of the most successful auto agencies. He sold the Cadillac, and the better cars, and had a very successful auto sales agency. Also he had a car leasing arrangement, before it became as prominent as it is now. Walter was a self-made man, very limited academic schooling, but he was a man who had become a success despite the handicaps of that sort.

Morris: Was he particularly interested in government?

Schultz: I think that he was not particularly interested in government as such, but he was interested in the politics of Marin County. After he came on the Board of Supervisors, he developed a genuine interest in government as such, and when we went to conventions and so on, he was very eager to learn. He was a very fine person. I'm very fond of Walt Castro.

Morris: He seems to have been kind of a stabilizing influence, when things got pretty noisy in the late fifties.

Schultz: Yes, Walter was. Now, at the time in 1960 when he and Bill Gness became the minority of two, things got very rough for the two of them. They held onto their principles about the validity of the civic center idea, the validity of a pay-as-you-go method of financing the buildings out there, but they were really submerged by the three, who were out to wreck things.

Board and Staff Relationships

Morris: I was wondering if, in the mid-fifties, when the civic center was getting under way, and the decision was being made to select Frank Lloyd Wright, and the new ideas in county administration were being discussed, did any of those gentlemen ever initiate the discussion, or propose the ordinance?

Schultz: They left it to me, but they supported me. Walter Castro became convinced that the administrator form of government would be a good thing for Marin County, and he never wavered in that conviction.

Morris: Mr. Castro or Mr. Gness didn't speak up first? They left it to you?

Schultz: That was one of the reasons that I was blamed for both! [Laughs] I carried the ball, both on the administrator principle, on the county counsel, on the personnel commission. You see where this came from, Gabrielle, was the years and years of study of government that were behind me. They recognized that I knew a great deal more about these principles than they did, but they believed in them.

Morris: I was just wondering if you ever had a sense that they were letting you handle a hot potato?

Schultz: No, I didn't. I didn't have the feeling that they were letting me handle the hot potato. There were two things that were happening at once. There was a leadership need on the board, and I filled that need because of preparation, I believe. But they supported it, and it could never have been done without them.

Morris: No, you have to have a majority.

Schultz: You certainly do.

Morris: Were things such that you would occasionally meet with them, in between Supervisors' meetings, to talk about some of those issues?

Schultz: No. Our board, in the eight years that I was on the Board of Supervisors, could never be criticized as far as my own participation was concerned, of having secret meetings, or little get-togethers. We didn't. The Brown Act was not in existence at that time. It was still possible to settle questions outside the public hearing, but our board was an honorable board.

We didn't engage in that kind of business. The decisions that we made were made when we met as a board. Now, the only time that we talked about things freely off the record were the times, for instance, when the board went as a board to have lunch at the county farm or the county fire department over in Woodacre. We did this rather often, for various reasons. We found out what was going on there. We had a chance to see for ourselves the condition of things.

But we also were in a private environment, where we could really exchange views without hesitancy. Now I'm sure they still do that. I mean, they all have lunch together. (I don't know where they go.) I mean, these are the opportunities for change of opinion that just by the nature of things can't exist at a board meeting.

Morris: Were there also personnel sessions which were held?

Schultz: They were very rare, as far as the board was concerned. The only personnel that the board had close contact with--that is, the only personnel problems--were those that related to, for instance, the recruitment for the administrator. Even the selection of the assistant administrator was left to him. The board had nothing to do with that.

Morris: So that the Board of Supervisors doesn't have the same kind of personnel evaluation and salary sessions that a city council or school board has?

Schultz: No, we have a personnel commission, and we have a personnel department, both of which came after the administrator came. Prior to that, there had been no personnel department. I thought that the creation of a personnel commission, which had to do with establishing principles and policies, with respect to county employees, was one of the substantial things that was accomplished during my time on the Board of Supervisors, because prior to that, employees had been subject to the decisions of the department heads as such. There was very little consistency, throughout county government, on policies.

It was only after we'd gotten a personnel commission that established, by ordinance, county policies with respect to hiring and firing and hearings and grievances and step increases and this and that, that we began to have an orderly system.

Morris: Was part of the need for this that there was a noticeable increase in county employees?

Schultz: Yes, yes. This came true. You see, the decade between '50 and '60 was one of tremendous growth in Marin County. It doubled its population from '52 to '62.

Morris: Was there a corresponding increase in county employees, or were there any bulges?

Schultz: There was a corresponding increase, although one of the arguments that I had used in advocating the employment of an administrator was that department heads were increasing their staff inordinately. At the budget hearings there were these tremendous requests for more and more employees. The Board of Supervisors was removed from the details of the administration of each department--how were they going to evaluate realistically these requests?

Yes, each time they brought in a letter of justification--well, how do you test its validity?

Morris: Did you seek some people with professional or personnel experience to appoint to the personnel commission?

Schultz: We appointed a commission on which my appointee was Fern Andrews--Mrs. Wallace Andrews--who, as a League member--

Morris: Oh, she's the lady that you were an advocate with.

Schultz: That's right. She had a long background in personnel practices and procedures, as we had studied them in the League. She worked extremely hard with Julius Sulinger, an attorney who was also appointed to the commission at that time, to establish the early rules. I met with her regularly to go over the proposals that they were formulating, in order to present to the commission, which was a five-person commission.

Morris: Was there an objection to women as appointees?

Schultz: There was no objection, [laughs] and besides, it was my appointee! I thought I did very well to get one woman on personnel, and one other woman on planning!

Morris: Your male colleagues did not see fit to appoint any women?

Schultz: They did not appoint any women.

Morris: That's curious.

Schultz: It wasn't being done then. [Laughs]

Hardening Opposition to the Civic Center

Morris: Last time, we started talking about the civic center, and that fascinating incident in which the contract disappeared, but Mr. Castro had a copy.

Schultz: In his pocket, and we got it signed.

Morris: Did you have a sense of opposition from that point onwards, or did it subside?

Schultz: The opposition to the building of the civic center existed from the time that the citizens' committee proposed that we buy the Scettrini acreage, because there were a number of businessmen in San Rafael who were very reluctant to see county government move outside the immediate downtown business section. So there was this opposition to moving 'way out there, [laughs] so to speak.

The opposition was to Frank Lloyd Wright as the architect for the civic center, once the decision was made to buy that property. It grew very quickly, because it was fanned by the Legion. The Legion sort of carried the ball in giving a great deal of notoriety to their reason for finding him unacceptable.

Morris: And that had to do with?

Schultz: Mr. Wright had gone to Russia at one time in his life, and had written a number of articles for magazines. There was one in the New Masses, which was considered a left-wing publication. There was one, I believe, in The New Republic. Because they were laudatory of what he found in Russia, they were considered pro-communist, because Russia was communist.

These articles were disinterred, though they had been published many years prior to the time that Wright was being considered. They were mimeographed and broadcast. The same old guilt-by-association technique was used. They pointed out that Mr. Wright had been a supporter of Henry Wallace. They pointed out that he had been one of the sponsors for a fund-raising event at which Marcantonio of New York--wasn't that his name?

Morris: Yes.

Schultz: --was also a sponsor. So they circled Marcantonio's name in red, and they circled Mr. Wright's name in red. Although they were in a full column apart, by that association they were linked as leftists.

Morris: Do you recall what the articles were about that Mr. Wright had written?

Schultz: They were about the Russian people and the Russian architecture.

Morris: Rather than the government?

Schultz: [Laughs] They were not political articles! They weren't a commentary on the politics of Russia. Mr. Wright was writing about how he found things there.

Morris: Did this objection to Mr. Wright produce anything in the way of watchdog committees, when it became clear that the Board of Supervisors was going to go ahead?

Schultz: Watchdog committees?

Morris: There was a reference to the taxpayers' association being revived.

Schultz: Yes. The head of it was a Mr. Schultz, Alvin Schultz, the brother of Neils Schultz.

Morris: Schultz the builder?

Schultz: Yes, they were the sons of the builder Schultz. The senior Schultz was vehemently opposed to Mr. Wright. He had seen the hotel in the Orient that Mr. Wright built, and it did not appeal to him. He didn't like it, and he didn't want to see anything even remotely similar in our county. So probably with his knowledge--though this is an assumption on my part--his son Alvin headed up this taxpayers' group, which became extremely active in opposing the employment of Mr. Wright for the civic center design.

Morris: Did that contribute to what looks like a long time, between April of '58, when Mr. Wright's plans were approved, and December of '59, when the bids were received on the construction? That's a year and a half.

Schultz: Well, I think this opposition is still alive in Marin, among a number of people who originally opposed it and still oppose it. It didn't die.

Morris: Is eighteen months a long time between having your plans approved and actually getting bids for the construction?

Schultz: I don't know whether it's a long time, in the general context of the building and construction industry. I don't know whether that's a long time. But it seemed like a long time to me!! [Laughs] It really did seem like a long time. It did make me apprehensive of something else happening, some other blow falling, like the time that Mr. Fusselman imported the legislator from Madison, Wisconsin. [Laughs]

He came to Marin and was interviewed by the Independent-Journal, with the assistance of Mr. Fusselman. They came out with this big blast about this man from Madison, who had always fought Mr. Wright in Wisconsin, and had been a bitter enemy of this for a long time. He came to Marin to tell us: Don't have anything to do with him.

Morris: In other words, even though the board had voted four to one to go ahead with the civic center, and to hire Frank Lloyd Wright, and had approved the plan submitted by Mr. Wright, there were still efforts to blow the whole thing out of the water?

Schultz: That's right, and they never subsided.

Morris: This was not all Mr. Fusselman? There were others?

Schultz: Oh, no. It was not all Mr. Fusselman. He was one of the leaders of it, and was in a propitious place to exercise leadership. But he was not alone, no indeed.

Budget and Assessment Growth

Morris: And at the same time, there seemed to be a head of steam building up on assessment practices, and the size of the budget?

Schultz: Yes, in both of these directions, changes were coming about. The first year that I sat on a budget was a learning process for me. I had never dealt with a county budget before, with the power of decision as to what stays out and what goes in. Yet there was one thing of which I was very certain, when I went on that board. That was that there were such great inequities in the way that properties in Marin County were taxed and assessed, that something should be done about it.

I know enough about the structure of county government to know that the assessor is an independently-elected department head, whose functions are outlined for him by the state legislature. The only influence that the board of supervisors can have over the assessor or the auditor or the controller, or any other independently-elected county official, is at budget time.

So when the assessor's budget came before us--

Morris: For his department?

Schultz: Yes, for his department. This was one where I had had prior experience, number one, in the Mill Valley City Council. I mentioned to you that the city had had to hire its own tax factors in order to get an equitable assessment of properties. So when Mr. Hall--George Hall was the name of the assessor--came in with his budget, and was asking for, as I recall, eight more employees, the question to him that I put was: Was he willing to adopt the State Board of Equalization's yardsticks for establishing value on real estate?

He said he liked his own methods best. So I voted against the budget for him, as far as broadening the number of employees.

Morris: Is this the point at which the grand jury came in on this?

Schultz: They came in somewhat later than that, because they called the Supervisors before them to ask us why we were hampering the assessor in the exercise of his lawful duties. This was when I really was very pleased to be able to expound somewhat on the inequities that we had encountered in the assessment of property of Marin.

The big estates that normally would have much higher assessed value--by size, value, location, et cetera--were being assessed at a fraction of what the little, new tract houses were being assessed.

Morris: In terms of percentage of market value?

Schultz: Yes, that's right. The subdivisions, the tract houses were, to put it parochially, getting it in the neck! The old landed estates were having a free ride. So I expounded on these inequities to the grand jury, and the grand jury did some investigating of their own. They brought in experts. I mean, real experts in the field of assessing. So their action, finally--it didn't happen that year.

Morris: It went on for several years.

Schultz: It went on. There was a tug of war, a battle, and there was a battle at every budget session.

Morris: Right. Then in 1959, the taxpayers' association turns up again with a suit to recover taxes allegedly paid prematurely in previous years. Was there some shift in the assessment practices?

Schultz: There were a great many changes in assessment practices. You see, in '59--? '59?

Morris: They filed in '59, but it had to do with taxes paid in '55 and '56.

Schultz: This would not have been taxes on possessory interest, would it? One of the things that we discovered was that the Marin County assessor was not levying an assessment against people whose property rimmed the bay, and who owned tidelands out in the bay. But everywhere else, these underwater lots--which were used for anchoring boats or for piers, or for this, that, and the other thing--were assessed and taxed as a possessory interest.

So this was one of the odd things. Marin County was missing out completely on a source of revenue that was commonplace. We had a big to-do over the possessory interest assessments.

Morris: What was George Hall's response when the specific items that could be backed up with data on other counties were presented to him?

Schultz: Well, Mr. Hall was a fighter for his realm. He had had a free rein in Marin County for many, many years. He selected all the employees in his office, including members of his family. A flourishing real estate business operated out of the assessor's office, where they always knew where the tax-delinquent properties were, and where those were that would be sold, and so on.

They had run it their own way so long that when the questions began to come, they were met with anger, and dislike, and denunciation. Finally, the Board of Supervisors had to take him to court to force him to use the new values that had been placed on property in Marin County at taxpayers' expense.

After three years of work, and the re-appraisal of every property in Marin, he wasn't going to use the values!

Morris: How could he not, if the Supervisors, and the grand jury--and didn't Paul Leake, who was the Board of Equalization member for this part of California, get involved?

Schultz: Yes, he did. When the grand jury threatened to indict Mr. Hall if he did not join the Board of Supervisors in requesting the State Board of Equalization to come into Marin and assist in a reappraisal program. Now, they can't come in without being invited.

Morris: That's nice.

Schultz: Yes, that's courteous. They had to be asked by the Supervisors and by the assessor. It had to be a joint request. The district attorney advised the assessor that he would be well-advised to acquiesce, because if he did not, they were going to indict him, because they had proof. That's the grand jury I'm speaking of.

So the district attorney accompanied Mr. Hall, the assessor, and Mr. Fusselman, the chairman of the board, to Sacramento to meet with Paul Leake, the district representative on the State Board of Equalization, to make this request and to make the arrangements for the State Board of Equalization to come in.

Now, this is the time in history when the grand jury, cognizant of the intense personal dislike that existed between George Hall and William Fusselman, attempted to provide a more hospitable climate for the reappraisal. To do that, they wanted the Board of Supervisors

Schultz: to change the chairmanship, to put another member of the board in as chairman, who would then be the board's representative on this board of equalization.

This is the time that the grand jury invited the district attorney, Bill Weissich, to go to the Board of Supervisors and request them to acquiesce in changing the chairman. I was asked first if I would be willing to do that, and I said yes.

Morris: Who asked you?

Schultz: Bill Weissich, the district attorney. He explained that he was there at the request of the grand jury.

Morris: He asked you to offer a motion?

Schultz: Well, he didn't ask me to make a motion. He asked me if I was willing to change, and I said: Yes, I am willing to change.

The next person he asked was Kehoe. Jim Kehoe was a cowbody [laughs], and used profanity a lot--he was a great guy--and he said: Hell, no! The other three men sitting there--

Morris: Including Mr. Fusselman?

Schultz: Including Mr. Fusselman. There were two men who said: Can't we do it some other way? They never went on record!

Morris: Oh, dear.

Schultz: My difficulties with Mr. Fusselman date from that moment, because he intensely resented my willingness to change the chairman.

Morris: Even though the issue was not Fusselman as chairman; it was the chairman's role in relation to the assessor?

Schultz: Apparently Bill did not feel the grand jury's position was valid in asking him to step down. Well, the assessor couldn't step down. He was elected. He couldn't vacate the office. I think I mentioned to you that Mr. Fusselman had run against him to be elected to assessor just prior to this. There was all the rancor of an election behind them.

Morris: Yes, I had forgotten that.

Schultz: That, of course, was one of the compelling reasons why the grand jury felt that there could never be anything accomplished as long as these two enemies had to function side by side!

Morris: Fusselman had run for assessor while he was a Supervisor?

Schultz: That's right. He could run.

Morris: In the middle of his four year Supervisor term?

Schultz: That's right, and not jeopardize his job.

Morris: But that one would want to go from Supervisor to assessor is a fascinating--

Schultz: It was very interesting. You see, this whole assessment picture was one of the places where Fusselman and Schultz supported each other's point of view. He was as adverse to the assessor's methods as I was, and joined me in the vote against the budgets for the assessor, and used to support my position--and I his--when it came to the assessment questions.

It was on the administrator question that he never, never came over to my side of the fence, nor on the civic center, nor on Frank Lloyd Wright, nor on the county counsel! [Laughs] But on the assessor, we were as one.

Morris: I'd like to ask you about Paul Leake's visibility and functioning in all of this. When he was appointed to the Board of Equalization, the word was that he was appointed to do something to clean up the Board of Equalization itself. It was having trouble.

Schultz: Which he did. They separated it. They separated the alcoholic beverage tax function from the state Board of Equalization.

Morris: Was that Leake's doing?

Schultz: Yes. He had been the editor of a newspaper in Woodland, and was the kind of editor that you dream about. I mean, a man of courage and perspicacity and leadership abilities! He was a strong Democrat. I had known Paul Leake as a Democrat before the Board of Equalization episode, so we were friends before he came into Marin to help us revise our rotten system.

Morris: Was he effective in Marin?

Schultz: He definitely was effective. He was the one moderating influence on the board, the three man board. He had to keep peace between Bill Fusselman and George Hall, and did it superbly. I know, because I used to go to those hearings. I didn't have to be there, but I went, because I wanted to be informed.

Morris: I can believe it. And the two men would listen to him?

Schultz: Yes. He was a mediator. He was a strong man, and he was never in any doubt as to which one of them was in the right.

Unseating the Assessor

Morris: Then by 1960, we have Bert Broemmel as assessor.

Schultz: That is correct.

Morris: Mr. Hall didn't quite survive that whole to-do?

Schultz: No. You see, the publicity that surrounded the court action--all during the operation of the equalization effort, the public was aware that everybody's property was being looked at, and new values were established. The paper carried news about it regularly.

Then, when it was finished and ready to be used, the assessor refused to use it. The taxpayers had paid out a million and a half dollars for it, or more--I forget the exact figure--and it just was going to be ignored! So it did not reflect well on the judgment of the assessor.

Morris: Could we stop a minute and I'll turn over the tape. I don't like to have you in mid-sentence.

[End side A, Tape 9. Begin side B.]

Morris: Did Broemmel run against George Hall, or did George Hall just not run again?

Schultz: Ohhhh, no! He ran against George Hall. I mean, the whole idea of his becoming a candidate for assessor was proposed to him by Walter Castro, Vera Schultz, Bill Gness. We did it out at the firehouse one day when we were there for lunch. Broemmel used to go to lunch with us, as did the administrators.

Morris: Was he already in the assessor's office?

Schultz: No! He was in the auditor's office. He was a very able member of the auditor's staff, and so we had come to know Bert, because of his being before the Supervisors from the office of the auditor. We had come to have a great deal of respect for his abilities and capacities. When we were there for lunch this day, we got to talking about this assessor situation and the election that was coming up.

We said: Bert, if you were to run for the job, you'd do a great job there.

He's meticulous, he's honest, he's most able. That is how--

Morris: And you talked him into it?

Schultz: We had to push hard. He knew the situation, and knew that we should have a better assessor, and so he said that he would be a candidate. We really called in the troops, [laughs] every last one of us! We called on the friends that we'd had in our own campaigns. This, of course, was a county-wide election. It was a bang-up campaign! Of course, there was lots of ammunition!

Morris: You three supervisors appeared on his campaign committee?

Schultz: Oh, no! [Laughs] No, indeed! This is really telling a kind of secret, a historical secret, actually. Of course, everyone knows that the politics of county government is a web. You don't ever operate in a vacuum. There are always strings out to so many other functions of county government. We were all of us convinced that the county's best interest lay in a new administration in the assessor's office.

There was another reason. We, as a Board of Supervisors, were particularly anxious for a new point of view to be present in the assessor's office. The county was moving into data processing. We were looking at equipment and people to operate that equipment, and how it could best be used. Broemmel was well informed on the whole arena of data processing.

Morris: I take it he was a young man, with professional training in public administration?

Schultz: Well, he'd had a broad education in accounting, I guess. I think that's the thing that took him into the auditor's office. Of course, the auditor's office is the place in county government that has

Schultz: surveillance of every other office, as far as the expenditure of funds is concerned. So he was well-informed on all other departments, and well informed on what had been going on in the assessor's department.

There was this need to get someone who not only understood this new area of county functioning, which would come with data processing, but someone who wanted to use it. Mr. Hall had demonstrated that he didn't want it, and had bucked it, when the Board of Supervisors had discussed with him the various choices that were ahead of us. So there was lots of grist for the mill in that contest.

The voters turned Mr. Hall out of office, and they elected Mr. Broemmel. They have had an outstanding administration of the assessor's office ever since Mr. Broemmel was elected. Now, he gets criticized as all assessors do. People don't really understand how county government services are financed. They don't understand that the assessor doesn't set the tax rate.

Morris: This was the other question I was going to ask you. The other side of assessment, from the county's point of view, is then what happens to the tax rate. What happened to the tax rate in Marin County in those years?

Schultz: Well, our tax rate remained steady for five years there, from '54 to '59. The tax rate remained the same. But the assessed values changed. There were a great many more properties coming on the list, although I am convinced that had we not had an able administrator, we would not have been able to hold the tax rate at its previous level. But with an able administrator, and the increased value that came in from the assessor's rolls, we were able to go on expanding services, investing in capital improvements, responding to inflation, and still hold the line on taxes. We were the only county in the Bay Area that had been able to do that.

Morris: That's fascinating.

Schultz: Yes, it is. So, [laughs] when they attacked me on the basis of being a spendthrift, as they did in the election of 1960, it was most unjustified! We had really demonstrated economy!

Morris: Do you recall the round dollar figures for what the county budget was for those years?

Schultz: [Laughs] No. No, don't ask me to do that! [Laughs] I just remember that we started with a ten million dollar budget, and heaven knows what it is now. What is it now?

Morris: I would judge that as the assessments increased, there was a net increase in the dollars available to the county for its budget.

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: Was there also any noticeable change in the amount of state and federal funds that came in?

Schultz: Yes, there was more money coming down from the federal government. On the other hand, we, as the county, were being required to provide more and more state services, which were not financed by state funds. They had to be financed locally.

XII DEFEAT AND VINDICATION, 1960-1961

Reappraisal Woes and New Campaign Techniques

Morris: Would it have been the increase in the total dollar amount of the budget that gave the ammunition to those who charged you with being a spendthrift?

Schultz: It was the new assessed values that were announced in the spring of 1960. The new appraised values that resulted from the reappraisal that had taken about three years to complete were put into effect as I was running for re-election to my hopefully third term. Those notices of increased assessed valuations really reached the taxpayers just before the election. Therefore, Mr. Blair in his campaign brochure complained that I was too expensive for Marin, that I was responsible for a Taj Mahal that was a monument to ego. Then he said: LOOK AT YOUR TAXES!! They did and out went Schultz!! [Laughs]

Morris: Did you have any qualms about running for that third term?

Schultz: [Laughs] No, I didn't. Perhaps it was naive of me, but I felt that we had a record of achievement that was substantial. From the point of view that measures good government by how much it can produce in service, in relation to what it costs per capita for that service, Marin County had an enviable record. I really believe that there were far more people who approved of the civic center who had demonstrated their support in public meetings and so forth.

There were certainly a great many more people who were well aware of the inequities of the assessment process, and who welcomed the reappraisal program, but it hadn't hit them in the pocketbook yet. There were many people who approved of the positive steps that

Schultz: had been taken in flood control. They liked the open space and the conservation achievements. I had, during my years on the board, fought hard for acquisition of new parks, the naval net depot, the Muir Beach overlook, et cetera. I felt secure in running for re-election. It was a great surprise to me when I was defeated.

Morris: You didn't have any sense of trouble brewing, or support falling away? You had to run right here, in your district?

Schultz: I ran right here in my district. I did, of course, know that trouble was brewing by what my opponent, Mr. Blair, was saying. I knew that things were afoot. I didn't know, until I read Peggy Radford's book, that Mr. Jones had introduced him in Sausalito many, many months prior, and said: This is the next Supervisor from District Three. I didn't know that. Probably I would have worked harder.

I think that one of the reasons that I lost that election was that we used a different technique of reaching the voters. Prior to that election, and in all the elections that I had participated in up to that one, there had been this personal appearance at coffees and candidates' meetings and so on. In that election, we decided to use a film strip and a tape-recorded presentation.*

It was skillfully done. I mean, it was good, it was interesting. But it's not like seeing the person. We had a campaign committee, you see, that arranged these coffees all over Third District, and then the chairman of our campaign committee, and various people who were working in it would take this tape-recorded program and screen show to the coffee and run it. They would answer questions of the people who came.

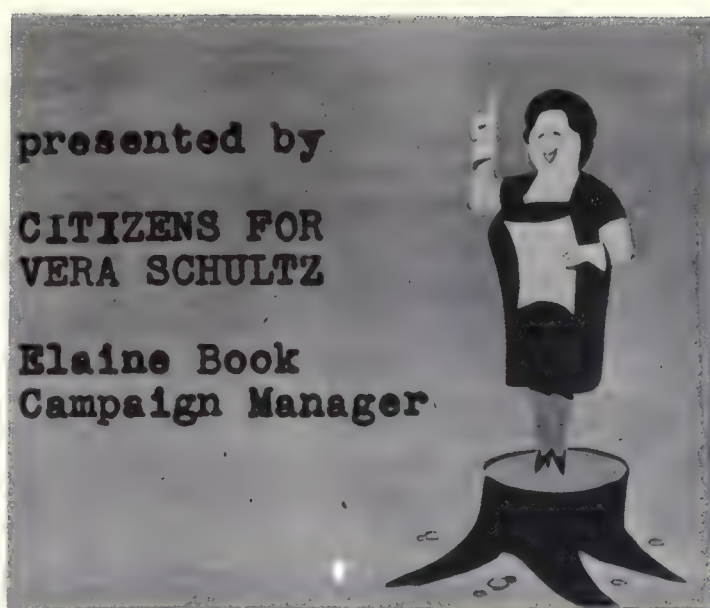
You may ask: Why did we do this? The reason is that the job of being a Supervisor is a very time-consuming job. If you are really tending to business, you are out tending to business! You are not going to coffees.

Morris: I can see this.

Schultz: And so I was working. I mean, I worked hard as a Supervisor, and gave it my full time.

Morris: Who suggested that you base your campaign on this different approach?

*Copy in Mrs. Schultz' papers.



Titles for 1960 slide show with tape narrative.
Drawings by Robert Bastian, San Francisco Chronicle
political cartoonist.



1956 poster



1952 poster

Campaign materials in the 1950s

Schultz: I had a committee that made this decision, and I agreed with them. We had a very positive story to tell, and we told the story of the tax rate in Marin County, and the story of assessed values in Marin County. We told the story of what it was like before we had an administrator, and what it was like since we had an able administrator. We told what the various functions of government were costing us now, in comparison to what they were costing us under the old hydra-headed system.

Mind you, we were not able to have real county administrator management. We had to have a modified version, due to the fact that we couldn't interfere with the many elected department heads. Think what we could have done in the assessor's department, had we been able to recruit on the basis of qualifications! We would have escaped the necessity of having that expensive reappraisal.

Morris: You would have had a staff competent to do it in the department?

Schultz: Yes, and we would have had a man at the head of the department who didn't believe in just "viewing and guessing" how much a property was worth, who accepted the scientific measurements of value that are used throughout the state.

Morris: Who was on your campaign committee in 1960?

Schultz: Well, let's see. Harold Stockstad and Bill Steward were two wonderful friends who put together the tape show. I could let you hear it. I've got it.

Morris: I'd like to.

Schultz: Robert Bastian, who's such a fine--

Morris: Is that the Chronicle cartoonist?

Schultz: The Chronicle cartoonist, yes. He drew a funny little cartoon of me when they presented me with the copy for the files of my campaign. I'm going to show it to you.

Morris: Wonderful! [Tape turned off and restarted] We were talking about your campaign committee in 1960, and although you say that many things are cut and dried, these are new names in your campaign forces.

Schultz: Yes. Mr. Stockstad was one of the newcomers to Marin. He came in '55, I think. He was one of the people who became enthusiastic about the Frank Lloyd Wright civic center concept. He was very active in

Schultz: a citizen's committee that put together with Mr. Steward that I mentioned to you, who was with a firm in San Francisco that was expert in this individual salesmanship--

They put together a slide show on Marin County called "Marin's Finest Hour." They presented it all over Marin County to make people acquainted with what we have, and what we were proposing we should have, by employing Frank Lloyd Wright to improve on the gem that nature gave us, rather than do something that would violate the excellence of this environment.

Morris: Was this through the organization called MCCA?

Schultz: No, that didn't come into being until the stop-work order, but it was a forerunner.

Morris: "Marin's Finest Hour" was an earlier effort?

Schultz: Yes. It was a citizen effort to alert the voters of the county to the fact that they had something at stake that they could win or lose.

Morris: Was it a campaign thing, or was it after the election?

Schultz: It was at the time we were making the decision on accepting Frank Lloyd Wright's plans, because the adverse element was still very active.

Morris: Oh, that puts it back in '57 and '58.

Schultz: That's right.

J. Walter Blair, Absentee Opponent, Elected

Morris: Did Mr. Marshall, in the coast district, have the same kind of attacks made on him, in his 1960 campaign?

Schultz: Yes, he did, and almost identical campaign attacks were made on him, that he had supported the Taj Mahal. The main criticism that was made of him, publicly, was that he supported my positions and seconded my motions. I was the target, and he in a peripheral way was held accountable, because he sustained my position.

- Schultz: So the attacks that were made on him in West Marin by George Ludy, who was running to succeed him, were all masterminded by the courthouse and George Jones and William Fusselman, who also was running for re-election, you know. He didn't have any opposition that he needed to be afraid of.
- Morris: On this matter, George Hall and Bill Fusselman buried their differences and worked together?
- Schultz: Well, George Hall was gone.
- Morris: Out of office?
- Schultz: Yes.
- Morris: But he was still active?
- Schultz: Now, there were many of my friends who felt very harsh toward Broemmell, that he would put the new values into effect in District Three. It was only in District Three--nowhere else in the county did the new values go into effect, because they had decided to do it on a cycle basis. There would be one-fourth of the county re-assessed annually. It would be a different section each year.
- Morris: They did it on a district basis?
- Schultz: They did it on a district basis. My district, Number Three, was the first one to feel the effect. [Laughs] There were those who said he should have known, and he shouldn't have done it in the Third District. He should have done it in one of the districts where there was no election at stake!
- Morris: Did anyone ever ask him about this?
- Schultz: [Laughs] Oh, yes!!
- Morris: What did he reply?
- Schultz: He had a perfectly logical reason. It was in Third District where the values were changing so rapidly. It was here that the property was changing hands so rapidly. Under the law, he must take cognizance of that fact. Now, I am not one who has blamed Bert Broemmell for the fact that I was the victim of that first reappraisal introduction.
- Morris: Which, in a sense, you had urged to have happen?

Schultz: I had been one of the advocates for it, yes. It wasn't Bert's fault that by an accident of geography and law, it had to become effective in my district. But there were those who said that he could have begun somewhere else.

Morris: It made a tremendous opportunity for the opposition?

Schultz: Oh, indeed! Mr. Blair used it! "LOOK AT YOUR TAXES!" [Laughs]

Morris: Did you and Mr. Blair meet at all, at any candidates' meetings?

Schultz: Oh, yes. There were a great many candidates' meetings. Yes, we did. This was one of the arenas where I felt that I was treated unfairly. Blair did not appear himself after the first two or three encounters. He could not handle himself in a direct exchange. So he always had someone take his place. There were always some able young attorneys who appeared for Mr. Blair.

Morris: Getting their experience--but they didn't have to back it up by running! That's fascinating!

Schultz: Yes, it is. They throttled him after awhile, because he did make great blunders.

For instance, the first time that I encountered Mr. Blair at a candidates' night was in Stinson Beach. We were in their recreation center. Now, Stinson Beach was an area in which I had been very active in keeping current with the problems of the people who lived there. I had many friends in that part of Marin. This was the first night that they put on a candidates' night, and they introduced Mr. Blair.

He spent his time on the platform denouncing educational policies in the school district over there. When it came time for me to speak, I said: Mr. Blair should be running for the school board, if he wants to make those changes, because county government has nothing to do with the policies that operate in your school district, or anywhere else in Marin County, or anywhere else in the state! County government has to do with this, this, this and this.

I made a presentation, and he learned a great deal that night that he hadn't known before.

Then the second encounter, when I really recognized that I was up against more than just an individual opponent, was down in Homestead Valley. There was a big candidates' night, and it was

Schultz: supposed to be a debate. There were certain specific questions that had been posed to both candidates, and it was to be moderated by Dr. Louis Wasserman, who at that time was a professor at San Francisco State College, and president of Homestead Valley Homeowners Association.

I went prepared to debate, and to cover the questions and answer the questions that had been asked. Mr. Blair rose with a written speech, which I am sure he did not write, and proceeded to attack me in every area of my eight years on the Board of Supervisors. He didn't apply himself to answering the questions. He just read this speech.

Morris: And the moderators didn't stop him?

Schultz: The moderator didn't stop him, and didn't stop the meeting.

Morris: Oh, dear.

Schultz: When I rose, I was very angry. I said that I understood that a certain format had been proposed for the appearance that night: There are certain questions that were asked, and I am prepared to address those questions. I didn't come with a prepared speech to attack Mr. Blair.

There was a lot of exchange. I had supporters in the audience. I had people who hated me in the audience. After all, I had eight years behind me, doing things on the board that displeased some people and pleased others.

Morris: There was a lot of audience participation?

Schultz: Oh, yes! It was a tempestuous meeting. People were calling out to the chairman, and the moderator. The moderator seemed unable to cope!

Morris: Did you get the feeling that this was deliberately done to aid Mr. Blair, or was it just an incompetent moderator?

Schultz: He's not an incompetent moderator, as a general rule. Dr. Wasserman is nobody's fool, but he certainly didn't function that night to maintain equity. I would not believe that Louis Wasserman had been persuaded to perform that way. I think it was a surprise to him, I really do.

Morris: And once started, he couldn't--?

Schultz: And once started, you see, he didn't know just how to stop it and get back on the track. But that was the first real inkling that I had, that I was up against an organized campaign of misrepresentation and vilification.

Morris: When these bright young attorneys began to appear instead of Mr. Blair, did anybody suggest that that should be made a campaign issue--who are we running against?

Schultz: Yes, certainly. My campaign committee made a great point of: Where's Mr. Blair? Who IS the candidate that is running? Is it Al Bianchi? [Laughs]

Al Bianchi was one of the attorneys who was the voice of Mr. Blair. Now, I have thought since--I have had many pleasant associations with Al Bianchi; he's a very nice fellow in lots of ways. I would love to be able to go to him--in candor, now--and say: What really happened? Who got you into that, and why?

I don't know whether he would tell me. But I'm without any desire for reprisal! I just would like to know the facts!

Morris: Yes, I can believe it. It must have been an awful shock to have had the rug pulled out from under you that way.

Schultz: It was an awful shock. Election night, Stephen Balzan called me up. He was my old opponent from three times before. He gloatingly told me that I was going to bite the dust of defeat that night. I couldn't see why he would.

This is the guy that called for the recount and had the extra sixty votes! He knew! And I was really puzzled that he would call me up before the polls were closed, and tell me that I was going to be defeated. I didn't believe it then. We were having the usual election night party here at the house; I told some of my friends, when they came, that I seemed to be slated for defeat! We didn't believe it.

As the night wore on, we found that it was true. It was a shock. It was probably one of the worst that I've ever had, because I had been concentrating for eight years on doing something constructive. I had not been behaving as a politician! I had been behaving as a statesman. I mean, the person who is doing what he does for the sake of the general welfare, and not counting: Who is going to vote for me because of what I have done.

Staff Resignations and Stop-work Order

Morris: Although you were defeated in the June 7 primary, Walter Blair and George Ludy didn't take office until January, 1961. Then there was a majority of Fusselman and Blair and Ludy, with Mr. Gness and Mr. Castro on the other side. Did you have a sense that Fusselman was going to lead the board into this campaign to undo the things that had been done?

Schultz: Oh, yes. It appeared the first day that the new board was sworn in. I'd like to back up here a moment, and say that after the June election, when Jim Marshall and I were defeated, Don Jensen saw the handwriting on the wall. He resigned immediately, with just a month's notice, even though Jim and I would be staying on the board until our terms ended in December.

And the county counsel, Lee Jordan, saw the handwriting on the wall. In fact, they were told quite bluntly by Mr. Fusselman that thing were going to be different now. So Lee Jordan resigned. (That's our county counsel.) He had been, as you remember, a member of the building committee. Mary Summers gave notice that she would be resigning a year hence.

When Blair and Ludy took office, the board itself gave notice to Jensen's successor, Alan Bruce, that his services would be very little needed. The space that they had occupied, some five or six rooms across the street from the courthouse, was vacated. His office was moved into what we called the "coat closet," a tiny little room in the old courthouse. It was totally inadequate.

It is certainly to the credit of Alan Bruce that he took the treatment that he had to from the three wreckers, and held on long enough for the public to respond to the situation. He was told that his job was going to be eliminated, that they were going to do away with the county administrator.

Mr. Fusselman stated this publicly, at a board meeting, early in the organization of the new board. They met the reaction of the public, which was a referendum. The people in Marin County had seen the benefits of the administrator principle, handicapped as it is by having so many elected department heads. The administrator, in installing a centralized purchasing system, which Don Jensen had done, wherein they bought the gasoline and oil not only for all county operations, but for all the school districts, and all the sanitary districts, and all the special districts.

Schultz: This centralized purchasing was saving thousands and thousands of dollars a year for every one of these segments of government. So there were a lot of people who might not care about the individual who filled the position, but who saw the advantages to themselves in some of these innovations in government administration that had come with the adoption of the ordinance creating the administrator position.

The League of Women Voters actually carried the standard, so to speak, in rallying the public in defense of the administrator ordinance. In two months time, they did a phenomenal job of getting more than the necessary signatures on a referendum petition to force the Board of Supervisors to put it on the ballot, if they were going to eliminate the ordinance creating the job. They were just going to wipe it out, which they could do.

They were faced with this choice--let the voters decide, or you back up. They backed up. [Laughs] But they didn't make life easy for that man.

Morris: I can believe it.

Schultz: It only came with the elimination of Fusselman's troika. It started, of course, with the recall of Mr. Blair. That's where the power of the three--the triumvirate--began to wane. Then Peter Behr was elected to fill Blair's seat. Now, the moment Mr. Blair took his seat up there in January, '61, he began to fulfill his promises to do away with planning, to give special consideration to the distillery where barrels were more important than children. [Laughs]

Morris: Down at the plant in Sausalito?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: That's an enormous building.

Schultz: Yes.

When the public saw that he meant what he said--you see, it had been taken as campaign oratory.

Morris: That was what I wondered.

Schultz: They didn't believe he meant it, but he did mean it.

Morris: Because he believed his own oratory, or he believed that having been elected, it was a mandate to do what he said he was going to?

Schultz: It wasn't what he said he was going to, it was what Mr. Jones said he was going to do, and Mr. Fusselman said he was going to do. He was a pawn. He didn't have any specific ideas, himself. He just repeated what was told him. This is something, it seems to me, that you can detect in a candidate--whether he has a set of principles to which he is wedded, or is someone who is accepting them from others, and doesn't really have convictions of his own.

I know that I often gauge candidates by my appraisal of how much of this that comes from his mouth is coming from his brain, and how much of it is being fed to him by somebody else.

Morris: And then the question is, who is feeding it to him, and why?

Schultz: Yes, who is feeding?

Time for Senior Citizens Services

Morris: So what did you do while all of this uproar was going on, first with this referendum on the administrator's office, and then the stop-work order?

Schultz: In January, when I left the board and the new supervisor from District Three was sworn in, I went to Washington. This was '61.

Morris: That's a good antidote to local troubles.

Schultz: It is indeed! I went to Washington to the White House Conference on Aging. This is an area that we have not touched on at all, but I had been very active, while on the Board of Supervisors, in trying to do something for the older people in Marin County. At that time in Marin County, there were no facilities whatever in which older people could get together just to exchange pleasantries. There was nothing--absolutely nothing!--available to senior citizens.

I had tried, as a Supervisor, to get something started. I had brought Louis Kuplan down from Sacramento, and had gotten people from our welfare department and our county physician, Dr. Dufficy, and a number of others together on a panel to present the problems of the older adult in our community. It was a marvelous panel, with a lot to give. It happened to be one of the rainiest days that we ever had in Marin County, and I think about thirty people came.

Morris: Oh, dear.

Schultz: That was to have been the opening act on what I thought would be a mobilization of the women's clubs in Marin County, to foster some centers to which old people could go. It did not turn out that way. In fact, it was a number of years before we finally did open the first senior center in Marin County. It was entirely by volunteer effort. We kept it open for five years with absolutely no funds from city, county, state, or anywhere else. It was all done by ourselves.

Well, this is the background for what happened to me in January of '61. When I left the board, I went to Washington, D.C., as the representative of Congressman Clem Miller to the first White House Conference on Aging. I went to the second White House Conference on Aging in 1971, as the president of the Marin Coordinating Council, which now has done for the seniors of Marin County what we started trying to do then. We provided centers for them, programs, recreation, meals, transportation, employment--all the services that at that time government ignored as being a rightful expectation on the part of the older people, but in the meantime has come.

In fact, the Older Americans Act of 1964 came out of the 1961 conference. Under that act, we were able to make applications for federal funds and for state funds that have helped us to do these things in Marin County. Now county government itself has taken cognizance, and does support the program with some county funds.

Peter Behr Defeats Blair in Recall, Civic Center Completed

Morris: But you didn't let your statesman-like skills get rusty?

Schultz: Well, they went to work on behalf of seniors. So I had just returned from Washington, D.C., and was met at the airport by my daughter and husband. My daughter told me that they were meeting that night in the courthouse in San Rafael, to protest the stop-work order on the civic center. All the way back from the airport, Ray and Joyce were telling me of all the things that had happened, about the people who had called Ray and said: This is what the Board of Supervisors is doing. What can we do?

Ray had gotten busy on the telephone, and had called various of my old supporters and friends, and said? What would Bobbie do if she were here? [Laughs]

Schultz: They descended on a meeting that was to be held in the courthouse that night, by one of the committees in county government, to ask that committee to do something to help them organize to resist the stop-work order. The committee would have nothing to do with it.

Morris: As an agent of the county?

Schultz: As an agent of county government. But they did adjourn their meeting, and turn the facility over to those protestants. The wonderful thing about that meeting was that it had all been done by telephone, and about three hundred people turned up that night, in protest of the stop-work ordinance. That night was the night that the Marin Council for Civic Affairs was born.

Morris: That was Harold Stockstad?

Schultz: Harold Stockstad, and Milan Dempster, and Margaret Azevedo, and a great many other long-time supporters, and people who were consistently interested in county government.

Morris: Did they decide that night that recall was one of their recourses?

Schultz: They didn't decide that night that recall was, but it came shortly after. They consulted the law, which was that a county supervisor cannot be recalled until he has served six months. Now that law has been changed.

[Begin Tape 10, side A]

Morris: So the committee was formed as a response. When did they decide that a recall was what they wanted?

Schultz: They decided immediately thereafter, particularly when the three new Supervisors--well, two were new, and there was a seasoned one, Mr. Fusselman. Mr. Fusselman, Ludy, and Blair told the administrator to stay in his cubbyhole and not bother them. They would work out the budget themselves. [Laughs]

Now, this was enough for cogent people to realize that they were in the hands of the wreckers, and they'd better do something. This was when they found that they couldn't do anything for six months, but they did organize. I was present at a meeting in Mill Valley. I think it was along in June.

Morris: That would be the six months.

Schultz: Yes. The citizens of Third District gathered in the home of Betty Rodman, a long time League member, who had been very active in circulating the referendum on the administrator, and discussed who would be a desirable candidate to run for election to the Board of Supervisors at the same time the recall was on the ballot.

Morris: Did you consider doing it yourself?

Schultz: No, I did not. I believed firmly (and still do) that for me to run again would simply rekindle all the old animosities. I really wanted to see county government restored to orderliness and peace, if possible. So I did not consider being a candidate, but I did support the candidacy of Peter Behr. (He was not there.) That was the name that came out of that meeting.

Morris: From whence had come his name?

Schultz: Peter Behr had been on the city council in Mill Valley.

Morris: [Laughs] That's a great training ground!

Schultz: Yes, it's a fine training ground. Peter, incidentally, had not endorsed my candidacy for election in the 1956 campaign. He had not been for Balzan, but I recall that he was for Mr. Rutherford. It was not a matter of selecting someone who was in the same political camp. I respected Peter Behr's mind and his integrity as a person. I believed that he would do a good job up there, and he did do a good job up there.

He, of course, ran on the premise that, if elected, he was firmly behind the manager principle. He had worked with it in Mill Valley. He was for the civic center, for the completion of the administration building, for the completion of the master plan-- these were the positive things. These were the things I had been for. He was for them. It was quite natural to support him.

Now what did I do in the campaign? I didn't involve myself in the campaign in any way. I thought that if I did, it would be divisive. So I went to Alaska. [Laughs]

Morris: Had you been planning this?

Schultz: I had not been planning to go to Alaska, but I had to go someplace! I wondered why Alaska was the only state that came into the union without counties! [Roar of laughter] I went up there to find out!

Morris: So you went on a buswoman's holiday?

Schultz: I drove three thousand miles that summer, and had a great time in a totally new environment, and just turned my back on the trials and tribulations of politics in Marin County.

Morris: Did you go by yourself?

Schultz: No, indeed! I didn't go by myself! I was the driver of a station wagon that had six occupants, including myself. We looked [laughs] like we were a schooner. You know, those old prairie schooners that crossed the desert, because we were prepared for everything in Alaska! We had a boat, all kinds of camping equipment. Really, we were loaded down so that the springs of the car were overloaded.

I've wondered since how it happened that my husband would let me go like that! But he did!! He stayed home with Joyce and her babies and our housekeeper. There just wasn't any room for him. I'll tell you who else was with me, that you know. I have two sisters. At that time, there were four sisters. My sister Patty and my sister Zetta were very much interested in this jaunt to Alaska.

My sister Zetta has a daughter, Betty Jean Miller, who has three children. One of her sons did not wish to go, but the other son and a daughter did wish to go, so there were two children with us. That was our total complement of passengers.

We had to have that sixteen-year-old boy with us to change tires, because none of us could have done that. I did find that having that sixteen-year-old boy with us broadened my horizons, because I've never been a fisherman. But he is, and he's an avid fisherman! Everytime we would come to these gorgeous lakes or rivers, he wanted to go fishing! I was the only one who would go with him.

I recall in Victoria we got up at three o'clock in the morning, and drove over to English Bay to hire a launch to go fishing. The man who took us had the poles and the bait and everything. He said: Why don't you use it? You're paying for it anyway.

So I used it, and I caught the first fish! It was a great big thing, like that. [Gestures] So I became a fisherman. I really enjoyed it, after that. But I'd never done it before.

Morris: It's a marvelous feeling.

Schultz: It is!

Morris: And while you were gone, Blair was recalled and Peter Behr was elected to the Board of Supervisors.

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: And then, after all the time and energy that you had invested in the civic center, did you stay in touch with it at all while the construction was being completed?

Schultz: No. No, I didn't.

I have never been one to hang onto something after my right to be concerned has been removed. When I was defeated for the Board of Supervisors, I did not ride herd on what they did up there, or put in my two cents' worth on what I thought of what they did. I just found other interests. Naturally, I read everything in the paper about what they were doing. I had my opinions, but I didn't voice them.

Morris: But you did unbend from that enough to go to the dedication?

Schultz: Oh, yes, because I was partially responsible for that! Yes, indeed, I thought I belonged there, and Blair was there too.

Morris: Now that's interesting. On the same platform?

Schultz: On the same platform.

Morris: Did that provide any contretemps?

Schultz: It provided reasons for comment by people.

XIII CONTINUING POLITICAL INTERESTS, 1964-1976

Campaign for State Senate

Morris: Did the Committee on Aging and the coordinating council take all your time, or did you keep your hand in with the political life of Marin County?

Schultz: I kept my hand in the political life of Marin County, supporting candidates and that sort of thing, working in campaigns. I never, I'm sure, will be able to siphon out of my system an interest in citizen participation in our government. I know that's what is expected of us to make it work. It's mighty interesting, and it has many, many kinds of dividends for those who do participate.

Morris: What led you to run for the State Senate in '64?

Schultz: Somewhat the same things that made me run for the Assembly in 1950-- a disappointment in the performance of the incumbent. You will remember that Jack McCarthy was elected to the Senate at the same time that I was elected to the Board of Supervisors, in 1952.

Morris: Had you had much contact with him?

Schultz: Very little contact with him, prior to the election. He was a baseball player, and I have never been very much of a baseball fan. I only met him in the course of the campaign that year, when we were on the same platform, as candidates for different offices.

Morris: You mean he was a professional baseball player, before he was a candidate for Senate?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: That's a fascinating preparation for a politician.

Schultz: Isn't it? But you need to have a little more background than that. His father is the head of McCarthy Construction Company, a very well-established and extensive operation in the Bay Area.

Morris: Homes?

Schultz: Homes. In fact, he built a yacht harbor in Marin, and has built many subdivisions here. He had two sons, one a Republican and one a Democrat. Both of them went to the legislature. Robert McCarthy went as a Democrat, and Jack McCarthy went as a Republican.

Morris: That explains why I've been confused. There were two of them, of opposite party?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: How did that happen?

Schultz: Well, I'm sure that it's a calculated balancing.

Morris: In other words, it was an extension of the construction business, to be considered.

Schultz: I should think so.

Morris: Did Bob McCarthy meet your standards for a legislator more than Jack?

Schultz: Yes, he did. He seemed to be genuinely interested in government, where Jack really wasn't.

Morris: Then how did he keep getting elected for twelve years, by 1964?

Schultz: Well, he belonged to the preferred party, number one. He always had plenty of financial backing, number two. He always had very well-financed campaigns, professionally run. He was just successful.

Morris: I came across a note in the San Rafael Independent-Journal in 1959. The Republican county central committee was appointing a committee to rebuild party structure in Marin County. I wonder if there was something happening with Mr. McCarthy's--if the Republican party was weakening, and therefore you thought that the county support would be less than it had been, and a greater possibility that you could defeat him.

Schultz: I'm not aware of the activities of the Republican party to rebuild the strength of their party system, except that with the successful elimination of cross-filing, had begun the emergence of a stronger

Schultz: Democratic organization. That may be the focus of that news story, that there were of course a great many newcomers in Marin. Many of them were registering as Democrats.

It wasn't, I think, that the Democratic organization in Marin was, in itself, particularly successful or threatening. I don't recall that it was. I recall that it had a real resurgence in the Adlai Stevenson campaign. But thereafter, the Democratic clubs became more inactive. While they would coalesce around this candidate or that candidate at the different elections, there wasn't a cohesive Democratic organization in the county.

Morris: The California Democratic Council?

Schultz: CDC?

Morris: Yes.

Schultz: That was an outgrowth of the Adlai Stevenson years. It did live. It was a very liberal--probably too liberal for a lot of long-time Democrats.

Morris: Was it a resource in something like running for the State Senate?

Schultz: I didn't use it. My resource for running for the State Senate in 1964 was the same sort of resource that I had always used--friends who thought as I did about the importance of safeguarding our democratic processes. My organization was built on friends. I didn't have professionals of any kind in any campaign I ever ran. I never had real professionals.

Morris: But you did say that that expert political hand, Lucretia Grady, offered--

Schultz: Advice, yes. Advice and counsel.

Morris: In what form?

Schultz: I feel that Lucretia Grady passed the word to people in the Bay Area who were in positions to be helpful.

Morris: Beyond just this Sonoma-Marín County senatorial district?

Schultz: Yes. She had been national committeewoman; she would have contacts that I would never have.

Morris: Did you, then, have financial contributions and endorsements from beyond the specific limits?

Schultz: Yes, I did. They were a source of, sometimes, surprise to me. [Laughs] But I did get them!

Morris: In other words, you hadn't sent out a mailing including these people?

Schultz: No. No, they were like gifts from the blue.

Morris: Isn't that interesting?!

Schultz: [Proudly] Yes.

Morris: Were they then followed up by any suggestions or comments on how you campaigned, or anything?

Schultz: Were the contributions followed up by suggestions?

Morris: Yes.

Schultz: They have never been, to my knowledge.

Morris: What kind of chance did you think you had against Mr. McCarthy in '64?

Schultz: I was enough of a realist to realize that my chances of actually winning were practically nil. I had enough political experience behind me that I hoped we might do better than we had one in the Assembly, where we really shook them. We had a big billboard with an empty chair in it. [Laughs] We had only one billboard. It was just inside Marin County, on the road from Vallejo into Marin.

Here was this big billboard, with the empty chair on it. This was the main focus, the main thrust of my campaign against Jack McCarthy--that he was absent all the time. He didn't care enough about his obligations as our representative to be there to vote.

Morris: He did not spend much time in the legislature?

Schultz: He was absent.

Morris: Where was he?

Schultz: Well, he did a great deal of travelling up to Reno during the legislative session. He just wasn't in the legislative halls.

Morris: And nobody had ever challenged him on this before?

Schultz: I don't recall that he had an opposition but, of course, he might have. I just don't remember who they were, or on what basis they may have challenged him. That would take some research, looking back to see whoever ran against him, and how well he did.

Morris: The Democratic central committee is not obliged to run a candidate?

Schultz: They're not obliged to, but they're certainly missing the boat if they don't run somebody, because so many of the jobs that relate to the structure of our party system are connected to the candidates. I mean, the appointments to the state central committee, for instance, and so on. If you don't have a candidate, you don't have anybody to make appointments. You've got to at least have some kind of token candidate, in order to make the two-party system work.

Morris: I would agree. I've also heard it suggested that it's good experience for people who are interested in politics.

Schultz: Yes, it is good experience, especially for young attorneys. But it is expensive, since a candidate really does have to, more or less, finance his own campaign.

Morris: Still, in '64?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: Still, in '75?

Schultz: Still in '75! Although, look at the tax help now that presidential candidates can get!

Morris: But there're lots more candidates for local and the state legislature?

Schultz: Yes, there certainly are.

Morris: Did you have any face-to-face contact with Mr. McCarthy during this?

Schultz: [Laughs] Yes, indeed I did! Many of them! I remember one in San Rafael, at Dominic's, where both of us were to address this large gathering--mostly women. I presented my complaints about his performance and his absenteeism. I had the facts and figures there to back it up. I had the roll call votes, you know, to demonstrate. Also, the pieces of legislation that were important when he should have been there to vote.

Schultz: He either voted wrong--if he was there--or he wasn't there to vote! So I took off on him. He had a lot of attractive women supporters present. And they hissed me! This was my first experience [laughs] of being hissed!

Morris: My impression was that the Independent-Journal gave Mr. McCarthy better coverage than you.

Schultz: Oh, yes!

Morris: They also had a number of pictures of him with attractive women. Did he appeal to women, or was it just that he liked pretty women in his campaign?

Schultz: He always emphasized his family status. He had a very attractive wife, Ursula, and many children. I think he had seven. They were there for her to rear while he had a good time. There were unpleasant things that were known, but I did not use them in my campaign. I never used those--partly out of respect for his wife and family, and partly because I could not attack a man for his private sexual predilections.

These things were known, but I didn't use them in my campaign. None of my friends were permitted to use them.

Hazards and Rewards

Morris: Fran Warner says that one of the characteristics of Vera Schultz as a politician is that she was always a lady. She says that she didn't think you would have survived if you had not been a lady, and risen above some of the tactics around you. This sounds like another case in point.

Schultz: Yes, I'm sure that if I had stooped--and I use that word advisedly--to use the ammunition that was available to me, in attacking Jack McCarthy, that I would have received better than I sent. I really believe that men can't take having a woman attack them in a sexual arena, and not retaliate in the most vicious kind of way. Fear of that is not what deterred me. It's repugnant to me. I wouldn't do it.

Morris: Is that more of a female characteristic than a male characteristic? Do you run across men in political life who will make the same distinction? They will not use what's available?

Schultz: Yes. I have encountered many men--politicians--who won't use that kind of political ammunition. Their own sense of integrity doesn't let them do it.

Morris: But you think that it's a serious hazard if a woman uses it?

Schultz: Yes. It's a particularly serious hazard for any female candidate. I think she has to avoid that.

Morris: Even with the changing mores?

Schultz: In my humble opinion, yes. It's going to be a long time before public opinion will tolerate a woman engaging in the really rough tactics that have been commonplace for men.

Morris: Those aren't always digging up sexual scandals. They also have to do with who did what to get which contract, the economic kind of thing.

Schultz: Yes, like where you get your campaign support.

Morris: I have just a couple more questions, and unless you have something that was missed, I think we've just about covered the territory at least once. [Laughs] It occurs to me that you have worked closely with at least three national committeewomen from the Democratic party, Helen Gahagan Douglas, Lucretia Grady, and Clara Shirpser. I wonder if there are any similarities or differences in the way that they have functioned, that say anything about women in the party kind of political role?

Schultz: I didn't work with Helen Gahagan Douglas as national committeewoman. The national committeewoman that I remember working with was, first of all, Ellie Heller. Then came Shirpser. After Shirpser came Libby Gatov--Libby Smith Gatov, whom I know well. Those are the committeewomen that I really worked closely with.

Then after that was--her name was Eliaser.

Morris: Yes, Ann.

Schultz: I knew Ann well. In fact, we went back to Washington, to a conference for Democratic women, at the time Hubert Humphrey was vice-president. We all came home with little Hubert Humphrey bracelets. [Morris giggles] We got ready to support him in the next campaign.

Morris: This was an election kind of a conference?

Schultz: Yes, it was to get us ready. It really was interesting. We went to the White House, to a tea party at which Lady Bird Johnson welcomed us. It was very delightful. President Johnson came downstairs, quite unexpectedly. It was one of the things he liked to do, to not be expected and then make his appearance. Everyone started to converge on him, and the party deteriorated into pandemonium! [Laughs]

Morris: Everybody wanted to shake the President's hand?

Schultz: Well, of course!

Morris: Is that a kind of reward for hard work, out in the states?

Schultz: Yes, an invitation to the White House is certainly one of the memorable rewards that comes from participation in party politics. Some of my most memorable trips to Washington involved invitations to the White House that I shall never forget! I mean, that is something, that White House! It is historically so important in our lives, and the history of the people who have lived there is such that when you step into the White House, you are stepping into the past.

Morris: You really have a sense of that.

Schultz: Yes, I do.

Morris: No matter who the incumbent is?

Schultz: No matter who the incumbent is. The last time I was there, the incumbent was Richard Nixon. I was just as excited that night to see the helicopter land and the President get out and come into the White House and go upstairs.

Morris: So the office and what it stands for--?

Schultz: It means something to me. I regret, of course, that it was abused by Richard Nixon. Of course, as I told you, my memory of him goes 'way back to the campaign against Helen Douglas, and before that, against Jerry Voorhis, whom I also knew, and who was hailed by seventeen of our foremost newspaper columnists as the most effective man in Congress.

Oh, he was really an exceptional public servant. Then he was eliminated by a telephone campaign that called his patriotism into question.

Women's Division Roles and Responsibilities

- Morris: In working with this number of national committeewomen on Democratic affairs, do you see any changes in the roles and responsibilities assigned to the women's division?
- Schultz: I have not been aware of any changes. They may exist, but I just am not well-informed.
- Morris: What is usually the women's division's function?
- Schultz: [Tiredly] To raise money.
- Morris: I thought that money-raising was generally the province of the, if you'll pardon the word, fat cats. The men did this out at their clubs, and in their mysterious way?
- Schultz: They do do it in their mysterious way, from individual fat cats. But there is so much required that the little individual fund-raisers are still needed. That still calls for a chairman and a fund-raising event and a committee, [laughs] and all the machinery of getting out the invitations, and collecting the money, and arranging the affair, and so on. This is where the women come in. They do it very well.
- Morris: Yes. It has a nice social side to it, too. It brings people together to do interesting things.
- Schultz: That's right. You meet interesting people.
- Morris: The fund-raising event is more time-consuming and more arduous than the get-out-the-vote?
- Schultz: I wouldn't say that it's more important. I believe that the most important contribution that women can make is in the precincts, and getting individuals out to cast their vote, and getting the information to them on which they can make a judgment. That is, number one, the hardest thing to do, and number two, the most important.
- Morris: And the precinct still has an important role, with all the increase in media coverage?
- Schultz: Yes, it does. The reason is that more and more voters are failing to vote. Apparently, there has to be some local stimulus to get them to do it.

Morris: It doesn't always have to be a recall or an uproar of that sort?

Schultz: It heightens the interest, and it focuses peoples' attention on some particular issue, but for the local school elections, you need to do precinct work. You need to get the candidate known in each precinct, by getting a precinct chairman who will call several people there, and get them together for a coffee, so you can present the candidate. It's very, very important to do that precinct work.

Morris: I've got my question backwards here. Does the precinct work have more effect on getting people to vote on local issues or on the top of the ticket, the state and national issues?

Schultz: It's always easier to mobilize a vote for a prominent election, a presidential election. It gets increasingly harder, the farther down the ballot you get.

Morris: How much time could you sandwich in for this kind of activity, along with the workload of being a Supervisor?

Schultz: During the years that I was on the Board of Supervisors, I did not accept any assignments as, for instance, campaign chairman. I would be associated with the campaign by being an honorary chairman, or a county chairman for so-and-so, but not to actually participate in the precinct organization and the work. There just wasn't time for it. And, too, I had a perspective as a public servant that I needed to reinforce the knowledge, that I was there to represent every citizen, regardless of his party label.

I've always been glad that in California, municipal and county elections are nonpartisan. I know that in the Middle West and in the East they are partisan. I know there are those who argue that the strength of the party system is enhanced if that partisanship goes all the way down to the municipal level.

But I have observed, from personal experience, that you sacrifice something by too much partisanship, and that good government is enhanced by emphasizing the nonpartisanship of city councils and boards of supervisors.

Morris: The areas of agreement, perhaps?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: Did your experience as a county supervisor, and all your other experience in California government--did the national committeewomen call upon this in their work? In other words, did they consult you about Marin County issues?

- Schultz: Occasionally I would be consulted for counsel about this person or that person. Did they have more friends than enemies. That's one of the thing you have to be careful about in getting campaign chairmen. You have to get someone that will really help the candidacy, rather than bring problems into it.
- Morris: The divisive elements.
- Schultz: Yes!
- Morris: That's a good point. Would there also be requests for advice in terms of appointments that a committeewoman might be making?
- Schultz: Occasionally there would be requests for guidance in that area.
- Morris: Would you have worked more closely with Libby Gatov, as a fellow Marinite, than some of these other ladies?
- Schultz: Yes, I would. Although I must say I don't recall any real requests from Libby. I remember visiting her when she was treasurer, and once or twice while she was in Washington. That's because we were personal friends.
- Morris: I was thinking about it on a much less intense level. When one is chairman of this, that, or the other thing, one usually first puts the arm on one's friends [laughs] when one needs somebody to help do the work!
- Schultz: For selling tickets to dinners and fund-raisers, yes.
- Morris: Then there's all that business about what are we going to tell the men about what we think ought to be done about this party platform issue, or how we think the votes ought to go in the state convention, and who we think ought to be on the delegation to the convention.
- Schultz: Well, for instance, in the current one, I'm not taking part at all in selecting the delegates to the convention, because I haven't selected a candidate! [Laughs] I've been invited to support this one or that one, but I haven't done so, because I still haven't selected a candidate.
- Morris: And there's no visible candidate who's a non-candidate, an uncommitted slate?
- Schultz: No, there's no uncommitted slate. There will be the favorite-son slate, and there will be the Carter slate, and there will be the Udall slate. I suppose a Jackson slate, but I haven't heard of any uncommitted slate.

Morris: I thought the favorite-son slate was generally an uncommitted slate.

Schultz: In a sense, it's uncommitted, in that if the favorite son does not become a candidate for the presidency or vice-presidency, the delegates are free to choose someone else. There used to be--in fact, in the '52 convention, there was the unit rule. We all had to be for Kefauver, because that's the way the voters of California had indicated their preference. But now it has changed. Those candidates like Carter or Jackson who get some votes in the California primary will have some delegates from California at the convention.

Morris: Do you think that's an improvement?

Schultz: Probably from a theory of representative-ness, yes.

Morris: But--?

Schultz: There was more political muscle present with the unit rule--when you have that big block of California votes that all had to go the same way, you could really exercise some muscle.

Morris: I can see that.

Marin County Fairgrounds

Morris: We talked about the state supervisors' association, but I'd like to hear a little about your attendance at ABAG--the Association of Bay Area Governments--when it was getting started.

Schultz: I was very much in favor of the formation of the Association of Bay Area Governments. I had recognized, for a long time, the necessity for a regional approach to solutions of problems that are regional. So I argued for the participation of Marin County in the formation of ABAG. That was one of the things I regretted when I was defeated. I had to stop going to those meetings as an official delegate from Marin. I really believed in ABAG.

Morris: Didn't they, sometime later on, start to appoint some citizens' advisory committee?

Schultz: Yes, they did.

Morris: I wondered if you had participated in any of that?

Schultz: No, I did not.

Morris: Have you followed the kinds of organizations and legislation that have come out of ABAG and the legislature?

Schultz: Yes. Particularly through the League, I recall some very productive meetings in Marin, when we brought John Knox down to present some of his legislation on regional government. I have followed with interest legislation at the state that has been tending in that direction.

Morris: There are two other things. One is that you have stayed active in Marin County with the committee that is working on the final stage of the civic center, the fair--?

Schultz: The fair acreage, yes, our fairgrounds. Much of it is still undeveloped. We have two buildings there now--the Veterans' Memorial Auditorium, and a new exhibit hall which will be open this July.

[End Tape 10, side A. Begin side B.]

Morris: The fair committee began as a citizens' committee, didn't it?

Schultz: It began as a citizens' effort to have some input into the uses of the eighty acres. It was known as Fair Marin, for "Fair, Agricultural, Industrial, Recreational"--FAIR Marin. It was the objective of citizens in Marin County that there would be year-round recreational use of this facility. That is still the objective of ACFAC, which is the present fair committee. That's Auditorium, Cultural, and Fair Commission. Advisory commission, I hasten to add. This commission is advisory only for the Board of Supervisors.

FAIR Marin, the original effort of citizens to have some voice in the use of that public facility, would have been a more autonomous body than just a purely advisory committee is. I'm glad that I have an opportunity to be taking part in the plans for the fulfillment of Frank Lloyd Wright's concept of what could be on that eighty acres.

Morris: Having been with it from the beginning, how do you feel about this fourth stage--do you think it does fulfill what you had in mind at the beginning, that Frank Lloyd Wright had in mind?

Schultz: I see it in jeopardy. I see us at present as facing the loss of this facility to the local user-groups, because they are in competition with commercial uses. This competition results from the fact that the fair, as a revenue-producing arm of county government, is still, at this stage, a deficit operation. They do not have enough usage of the auditorium theater to cover the costs. It is hoped that this new exhibit hall, which contains a small theater--three hundred and fifty seats--will be available to the local user groups, where they can't afford to pay for that two thousand seat auditorium.

Morris: That giant auditorium?

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: Weren't the fair provisions related to Marin as an agricultural county? In other words, isn't it an outgrowth of the county fair structure? Are there changes in Marin that make it a less agricultural type of facility?

Schultz: Yes. It dates back to the time in California when the voters approved legislation to tax horseracing to support agricultural fairs and institutions that teach agriculture! There was a dual purpose!

Morris: I've never heard of the agricultural teaching.

Schultz: Institutions that teach agriculture. Therefore, every county had a legitimate claim upon the pari-mutuel funds on a basis of equity. Marin County was entitled to \$65,000 a year as its allotted portion of the pari-mutuel funds. We actually, as an agricultural county, participate in a regional agricultural fair at Petaluma that serves both Marin and Sonoma county. Besides that, Sonoma has their own fairgrounds.

Morris: Which has a horseracing track.

Schultz: Which has the horseracing! Here is where Marin benefits from those fairs in the state which do have horseracing, and which do produce this money, which is two or three million dollars a year. We get some of that. We don't have to have the onus of having horseracing in our midst! [Laughs] But we benefit from those counties that do have horseracing.

Now there is a bill in the legislature. Those of us on the Auditorium, Cultural, and Fair Advisory Committee are going to Sacramento a week from today to hear this bill, which proposed to

Schultz: distribute a large surplus of pari-mutuel funds, which has been going into the general fund. It is now proposed that it should be distributed to the counties. If this takes place, that means that we will have more capital improvements on our fairgrounds than we'd been able to do before. We're very hopeful about that bill, because we really want that eighty acres to be a year-round facility for the use of the people of this county.

Morris: Do people from Sonoma County use it too?

Schultz: They could, if they wanted to pay the rent. [Laughs] Anyone could.

Morris: I was wondering if there was a tradeoff of any kind. If Sonoma and Petaluma have the horseraces, is there something that Marin offers them in return for their share of the money?

Schultz: No, no.

Morris: That's pretty good.

Schultz: It's all run from Sacramento.

Status of Women, 1976

Morris: I think the place to wind up is the status of women activities that you've been involved in.

Schultz: Well, I'm very happy to say that we have a Commission on the Status of Women in Marin.

Morris: Is that county-appointed?

Schultz: It's county-supervisory appointed. It has nine members. It is the result of the combined efforts of a great many women's organizations in Marin called the Ad Hoc Committee, which began to function about three years ago. It's almost three years ago that we began to meet. There were delegates from the American Association of University Women, and the League of Women Voters, and the Federation of Women's Clubs, and the PTAs, and the Business and Professional Women's Club, the Soroptimists, the two political parties, the Democratic Central Committee, and the Republican women.

Schultz: They sent delegates to this ad hoc committee, whose job it was to draft an ordinance to present to the Board of Supervisors, along with a request to them to create a commission on the status of women. It was successful. Marin was the fifth county in the state to promote successfully the creation of such a commission.

Morris: This means the passage of an ordinance, doesn't it?

Schultz: That's right. The Board of Supervisors adopted our ordinance, with very few changes, established the commission, and last night I went to another meeting of the commission. They meet every month. Our Board of Supervisors put this commission into the human rights area of county government, provides them with staff and a place to meet, and has given them certain guidelines for their performance.

It is not all smooth going by any means. There are as many opinions about what the commission should be doing on behalf of women as there are women, I think!

Last night was an example. There were many urgent pleas to the commission last night to take a positive stand before the Board of Supervisors in demanding adequate funding for services to women and child care centers. There were, on the other hand, women who were auditors there--not members of the commission, but there out of an interest in what the commission is doing--who argued that this is not the function of the status of women commission.

Morris: [With amusement] It's the function of the children's services commission?

Schultz: Yes! They should be focusing on getting women into positions of authority and power. So there's a difference of point of view, and there's a difference in point of view among the individual commissioners.

Morris: What's the scope of the ordinance? What specific territory does it spell out?

Schultz: It spells out that this commission shall advise the Board of Supervisors on areas of concern to women. It doesn't say anything about children. Areas of concern to women with respect to employment, equal rights, conditions of work, and preferential employment or bias. Then there are a number of other things in the ordinance that tell the commission how far they can go. They are advisory only, also.

Morris: How are they received by the Supervisors?

Schultz: They have been, in a broad way, supportive. There have been a couple of issues where they have trodden on touchy territory with respect to hiring policies. They made a study of the hiring policies of the county itself, and they pointed the finger, saying: You are not an equal opportunity employer! You're not employing as many women as you should, and those you employ, you do not give equal access to promotion!

[Laughs] That was sort of biting the hand that feeds you, but it was a courageous thing for them to do.

It led to the creation of a new committee, which is advisory to the personnel commission. So progress is being made!

Morris: Now, are you an appointed member of that, or a resource person?

Schultz: I'm just an interested auditor! I go because I'm interested in seeing how they're getting along, and how they're doing.

Morris: I hope they call on your experience and knowledge in this field.

Schultz: Individual members of the commission do consult with me from time to time.

Morris: What kinds of advice do you give women of any age who are thinking of getting involved in politics? How are things different now from when you first started out as a candidate?

Schultz: The field is very, very much more hospitable towards women's participation now, than in the days when I began to seek a toehold. I surely would advise women to avail themselves of the opportunities that exist for them, too, as functioning citizens in a democracy. Really take part! Really seek to be elected to the seats of power where you have the power to make decisions, and to affect policies. There is always a penalty to pay for every privilege, it seems to me. It's hard work, and you will at times be subject to harsh criticism. You have to learn how to take it, and not let it corrode your soul. But all of this comes as growth. Really, it is growth. I would be sorry if women turned their backs on the opportunity that they have to participate because some of the penalties are unpleasant. It's very worthwhile! It certainly adds dimension to your horizons.

Morris: I should say so, as a human being.

Schultz: Yes.

Morris: Do you see women as going further nowadays in political careers?

Schultz: Yes, I do. I see the number of women who have been elected to Congress, and I see the effectiveness of their service there. I'm very hopeful of the future for women. I'm looking forward to going to hear Helen Gahagan Douglas talk about the political scene. Are you coming over on the twenty-sixth to hear her?

Morris: My colleague, Amelia Fry, is doing a memoir with Helen Gahagan Douglas; I hope she is going to tape that speech.

Schultz: [Regretfully] Oh, so you can't be there. I thought you'd be interested to meet her. "Me too! Me too!" [Laughs]

Morris: She must be a remarkable woman.

Schultz: Oh, yes.

Morris: Everything I hear about her--

Schultz: There was a very interesting interview with her in Ms. magazine a number of months ago, and her face was on the cover. I really enjoyed that! I've always felt a certain kinship with her, you know, because of our having run at the same time [telephone rings insistently], and our having run into the same buzzsaw.

Morris: In a way, did you think of her as a role-model, to use today's word? Was she an inspiration to you?

Schultz: She was always an inspiration to me. She is a talented, beautiful, liberal person.

Morris: Are there some women that you have kept an eye on that you see as coming along as Marin County political people?

Schultz: Well, Margaret Azevedo is one I want to see a future for in the political field. She's running now for the Board of Supervisors. There are others in Marin. There's one who is currently the president of the League of Women Voters of southern Marin, Joan Bosenecker, who I think has done all the studies that she should to prepare her to be an effective member of the city council or the board of supervisors. I wish she'd do it!

Morris: Have you suggested to her that she should consider it.

Schultz: Yes, I have. [Laughs] I do it regularly!

Morris: It sounds like she's not yet convinced.

Schultz: Oh, she's convinced, but she has a large family. The time isn't right she feels--and she knows that once you plunge into the political arena, you no longer lead an orderly domestic life.

Morris: So the constraints of children and husband are still a limiting factor for women?

Schultz: Yes, for her, from her point of view.

Morris: But not to all women. Or is it a matter of time?

Schultz: I think it's a matter of the individual domestic situation for each woman--her husband's attitude, how many children she has, what their ages are, what their economic position is--all those things influence whether you can plunge in or not.

Morris: Well, what about the other aspect? I'm not any good at all on quotations, but "there is a tide that is taken, that if taken at the full leads on." What about the fact that if you've done a piece of work, as you did so many governmental studies--if a woman doesn't, on the basis of those studies, then go on and get her feet wet in elected politics, is she less likely to be successful at it at another time? If she waits until everything is ideal in her personal life, is that going to have an effect on how successful she is?

Schultz: I think it is very true that there is a tide in the affairs of man.

Morris: That's much better. [Laughs]

Schultz: There is a tide, and there is a time. I have seen careers--political careers--that have been thwarted because the tide was not right. Perhaps that could be said for me. The tide was not right when I ran for the Assembly, the tide was not right when I ran for the Senate. We still don't have the first woman in the state Senate!* Where is the tide going to run for us to break down this exclusiveness?

*The first woman state senator was elected in November, 1976.

Morris: That sounds like the basis for planning a campaign?

Schultz: Yes, it does, doesn't it?

Morris: When the Democratic women's groups meet state-wide, or when you meet with a Democratic national committeewoman--is this kind of thing ever discussed? Why don't we have a woman as state senator, and why don't we do something about it? If we put our heads together, who can we pick, and how can we see that she--or preferably they--get elected? Does this ever happen?

Schultz: Yes, it does happen. There was a woman supervisor named Nancy Smith, from Riverside County, I think. She ran for the state Senate. I believe it was the same year that I ran for the state Senate. I really thought she was going to make it, but she didn't. There have been a number of women who have had remarkably effective campaigns, but we just never win the brass ring!

Morris: Is there something about women as voters that has a bearing on women as candidates?

Schultz: I think that women as voters--particularly in past years--have contributed to the fact that women haven't won. I have sensed a change in the attitude of women about supporting women for elective office in recent years. I think that we are going to make it one of these days.

Morris: That's rather a startling statistic, that there's never been a woman in the Senate.

Schultz: Particularly in view of the fact that the women of California had the vote eleven years before the women of the nation. We should be ashamed of ourselves!

Morris: What have I left out? What have I not asked you that should be included in this memoir of your political life?

Schultz: Well, we've been at this for a good many Tuesdays! I think we've covered everything! [Laughs] I can't think of anything more to say!

Morris: I know I've missed some very fine tales, but I think we've covered some very interesting material.

Schultz: I think so too. You've stirred up my memory a lot.

Morris: Good!

Schultz: I wish I'd been better prepared. I've never been able to go back into my files, so to speak to get some things for you that would have helped you. It's just been an awfully busy spring.

Morris: If I stirred your memories, and you've got the time, if you'd like to dig out some things that you'd like to include with the transcript, that would be a very fine thing.

Schultz: I will do that. [Laughs] Yes!

END OF INTERVIEW

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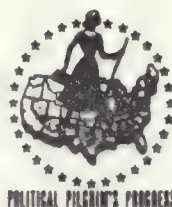
APPENDIX: "Delegate in a Draft", reprinted from
November, 1952, The Ladies Home Journal



Vera went to the Democratic Convention as a Kefauver delegate, but she's a Stevenson supporter now. "I recovered—and found I was still a Democrat at heart."



Joyce, 10, thought nominating day was "wonderful—like New Year's Eve," but Ray, an insurance salesman, was more disturbed than Vera at convention's result.



"I trust him," Vera said of Kefauver after spending campaign day with him. Nancy. "He has such potential strength."

"I can't help but like that man, he has such courage and intelligence but I'll never agree he was drafted"—Stevenson.

**The defeat of her candidate
hit her hard—but she didn't let it
thwart her political career.**

ABOUT nine-thirty on the morning of election day, after she has seen her husband Ray off to work, her daughter Joycie off to school, made the beds and washed the breakfast dishes, Vera Schultz will run a comb through her brown curly hair, shoo the cats out of the living room and drive down the California hills to vote.

First putting her X at the top of the Democratic slate of electors, thereby casting her vote for Governor Adlai Stevenson for President, she will then, in the local column, put another X beside her own name. The rest of the day she will spend whisking through the hills that tower over San Francisco Bay getting out the vote of at least a dozen more people in her home territory, Marin County.

For Vera Schultz, known to her friends as Bobbie because at a tender age she was smitten with love for a milkman of that name, is a politician as well as a housewife. She is running for the Board of Supervisors of Marin County. The odds are good that she will win. Behind her she has the experience of two important elective posts in Mill Valley's city government and a smashing victory in the primary against six men opponents. With her she has most of the women's organizations, an important businessmen's group, and a host of friends.

For the past ten weeks she has campaigned the southern tip of this lovely dairy county. She has run up more than 1000 miles on the speed-

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MYRON DAVIS



Excitement—Kefauver is ahead on the first two ballots. Vera thought she was against shouting, demonstrating, until she tried it.



Depression—Kefauver is waiting to withdraw and Stevenson is ahead. "How can we explain to California?" delegates worry.

DELEGATE IN A DRAFT

ometer of her small black Studebaker; seen more than 2000 people; made more than 100 speeches.

Only in the privacy of her own home, however, has she felt free to show her growing enthusiasm for Stevenson and the Democratic platform. The supervisors' race is a nonpartisan one. Vera makes no bones about her party affiliations, but the state laws do not permit party labels and partisan action in city and county elections.

She would be the first to admit, though, that for three weeks this summer she was glad to hew to a nonpartisan line. For three weeks she didn't know how she would, or could, vote. She had then just returned from the Democratic National Convention. She had gone there as a Kefauver delegate and she took his defeat by the Democratic regulars hard, as did Kefauver himself.

Kefauver had won her loyalty as the only man who could save the party from what she felt were its abuses of power. When Stevenson, without campaigning, was pushed reluctantly into victory by the very groups she deplored, she was stunned and shocked. "I came home with the greatest feeling of futility—of inadequacy," she said. "The fact is that this convention was not the instrument by which the people express themselves—and I had thought it would be. The whole convention process is so organized that the reins can be expertly held in the hands of the professionals." Faced, however, after the convention with either compro-

missing, sitting on her hands, or bolting the ticket, she realized she was still a Democrat at heart.

But, in Chicago, she had been unprepared for the tight, bitter struggle which took place that hot and sticky last July week in the crowded, noisy convention. In her home state, the party rank and file, and some of its more

progressive leaders, had shown themselves increasingly eager to do away with machine politics.

In the last state convention Vera and scores of her friends had rounded up enough support to throw a monkey wrench into the old-time works. They had elected a new state chairman and vice-chairman who refused to take orders

Back home in Marin County, Vera campaigns day and night for nonpartisan post on Board of Supervisors, has fine chance to win.

"Give the people the facts and they'll choose wisely and well," Vera says, regretting she can't join Democratic Party campaign too.



FRANK LYON

from the rich and powerful San Francisco county machine, already harassed by a tax scandal, and had devised a new method of selecting delegates by districts to the national convention. When that hadn't worked, they had rallied around Kefauver. With him as a symbol of anti-corruption, they had rolled up a two-to-one victory over the regulars in the June primary. When they headed for Chicago they were committed to stick with him until released. They felt they had a people's mandate to see that he won—California takes its primaries seriously.

And Vera does too. She would no more break faith with a voter than with her husband or child. A one-time teacher, she abandoned teaching because she felt she would be more valuable to the community in politics—clean politics.

"Give the people the facts," she says, "and they will choose wisely and well."

Her husband, Ray, a darkly good-looking man who runs his own insurance office, urged her on. When she took four years off from politics during Joycie's childhood, he kept asking her when she was going back. "People of principle, like Bobbie, are needed in government," says Ray.

His hobby used to be planning and building houses—he has built six in turn for his family—but now his spare time is at Vera's disposal. Saturdays and Sundays when she is campaigning, he drives the car, handles the picture posters, corrals people for her to talk to, and eases them on if they chat too long, something which Vera is loath to do.

"He is a wonderful campaigner," Vera says. "I suspect he likes it." Ray snorts, but smiles.

Joyce, a ten-year-old replica of her blue-eyed winsome mother, also lends a hand, answering the phone, stamping letters, sometimes going campaigning. "I like places with beaches best," she says.

Both Joyce and Ray went with Vera to the convention. The morning after Kefauver's defeat, as her mother kissed her awake, Joyce shook her head sadly, "I'm so sorry he lost, mommy," she said.

When Vera first thought about going to the convention, more than a year ago, she had thought of it simply as part of every politician's education. After working with the League of Women Voters, she served on the park commission, the school-district reorganizing committee, and was elected as a freeholder to change Mill Valley's government, and to the city council. She had also worked on the state level—as a League lobbyist for welfare bills in the state legislature and in an unsuccessful campaign to be elected assemblyman.

Even before Washington's corruption was exposed, and the scandals revealed in California, she had had a little personal experience in how rotten California's party politics were becoming. The thought of being able to help in a cleanup delighted her.

Her own experience came during her race for the state assembly in 1950. She had become a Democratic candidate because the Republican incumbent was introducing gambling bills and special-interest legislation and, many felt, neglecting his own district. At her request the county and state Democratic Committees agreed to support her, but Vera had to finance and organize her own campaign.

Despite the state's cross-filing system, she won the primary—the first Democrat to do so for this office in more than twenty years. Soon after the victory her finance chairman was approached by a man who said bluntly, "Look, you know and I know Schultz can't win without money. Now I know where she can get it, and plenty of backing too. But first she has to promise one thing. She can't act like any Carrie Nation if she gets in, axing around in other people's business."

Some people said she should have taken the money—Ray and she scraped the bottom of the family barrel to get up \$6000 before the campaign was over—and done as she pleased. Vera refused even to consider it.

"That's the beginning of the end and exactly what I'm opposing," she said. "That's how you get the best politicians money can buy, not good government."

Her fear of these evil influences in government had made her a Kefauver fan even before he was a candidate for the presidential nomination. Everything she knew about Kefauver made her feel that he was the man not only to resist such influences, but also to help eradicate them. And she believed that thousands of other Californians, having watched the Senate Crime Committee hearings on TV, would agree with her and vote accordingly. In March of this year she welcomed the chance to become one of his delegates to the convention.

In the June primaries, Kefauver rolled up almost 800,000 votes, double the number polled by the opposition slate. The old-line politicians hinted that they hadn't fought Kefauver because they wanted "party harmony," but to Vera it was an important milestone—and a potent signal that California Democrats wanted a change not only in their state leadership but in Washington too.

On July 15, the family set out for Chicago. Ray was taking his first vacation in six years, and as well as the week in Chicago they hoped to spend three weeks on the road, one before and two after touring the West. Going up they stopped at Lake Tahoe to visit Vera's two sisters and a brother who lived there, and at Reno they visited another brother. At Salt Lake they strolled around the Mormon city, at Estes Park they climbed the Rockies and threw snowballs at each other.

On the dot of Sunday noon, just as Ray had conscientiously planned it, they rolled into Chicago. Ray had not let Vera handle the wheel once. "You'll need all your strength when we get there," he said. He also had told her not to worry about money—that he would do the worrying for both of them on this trip.

It was estimated by the delegation that because of the distance and the fact that the regulars had made reservations for California at the swank Palmer House, each delegate should be equipped with at least \$500 for transportation, food and rooms. Ray and Vera had felt the cost was worth while, and had put the combined vacation and political project into the family budget early in the year.

Still, it was a shock to discover that their hotel room alone would cost them \$16.75 a night, and one meal in one of the hotel's restaurants was enough to send Ray searching for less expensive places to eat. As it turned out, however, only he and Joycie spent any money on food; for while they went sightseeing, Vera faithfully attended the delegation caucuses, the convention sessions, and had time left for only five breakfasts, three dinners and no lunches (or about \$20 worth) the seven days she was in Chicago. "Not that it bothered me," she said. "I was happy to lose six pounds."

What did bother her from the very beginning was the amount of flimflam that masqueraded as convention business. That first afternoon, Vera toured campaign headquarters in the Hilton Hotel with her alternate, Nancy Strawbridge, and found mainly pamphlets, log cabins, coonskin caps and soft drinks. "You'd think we'd come two thousand miles to see a circus," said Vera, as they watched two girls swing across the lobby on a trapeze. "Do they really think this sort of thing helps elect a President of the United States?"

From there she hurried to a Women's Division dinner. Because the first California convention caucus was to be held that evening at nine, she had time only to eat and to hear the first speaker, Governor Stevenson. She was prepared to like him as a man because of an article of his on foreign affairs which she had read some months before, and she enjoyed this brief, witty greeting. But mixed with her liking even then was some measure of opposition, for the regulars had been known to favor him as their real

choice for the nomination, and a friend of theirs was rarely a friend of hers.

The caucus that Sunday night lasted long but accomplished little. In all California's 150-odd delegates and alternates there were only a few who had ever attended a national convention before. The sheer mechanics of settling themselves, of finding out who was who and what was what, of simply getting along in such a large and strange group, overwhelmed the majority. The heat, noise and tension of the convention increased their confusion.

Not until Wednesday did they pull themselves together enough to start canvassing other delegations, to set up lines of communication and information. By then it was too late—the stray delegates had been pocketed. The lines had been formed, and sights set.

For by then, sides had been taken on the bitterest floor fight the Democrats have seen in decades—the fight led by the New Deal-liberal bloc against the Dixiecrat Southern group over a loyalty oath binding all delegates in advance to support the convention's candidates.

Kefauver had thrown what hope he had of help from his fellow Southerners out the window and was backing the Northern states' loyalty oath as a necessary part of majority rule. Vera, full of admiration for his stand on principle, approved wholeheartedly. The first round, taken Monday night before the convention was yet a day old, was won handily and she was jubilant. But there were other rounds to come, and the next day the icing was sliced off the gingerbread in the Credentials Committee meeting.

Here, faced with the possibility of a complete Southern bolt, the loyalty-oath spokesmen began to water their pledge, adding the proviso that if state laws contravened, the pledge need not be taken. Led by Senator Russell, most of the Southern states then came around and signed, but three held out for no pledge at all. While this went on in downtown Chicago, however, Vera sat at the convention mules away—blissfully listening to Mrs. Roosevelt.

Not until Wednesday was the change in oath brought up to the hall. Then, gaveling rapidly, the chairman permitted all of the South to sit—but he said he would not let the three holdouts, Louisiana, Virginia and South Carolina, vote. The decision came so fast Vera was stunned. "We knew something had hit us," she said later, "but we didn't know what it was."

It proved, of course, to be a real defeat for Kefauver, but before this could sink in, the delegates were caught up in other speeches, other problems—and that night in the warm, tumultuous reception for the Veep.

Even before the last cheers for Alben Barkley died away, though, Vera was hit by something of the same sense of futility that had threatened her earlier in the day—"a feeling of emptiness in the role assigned to the delegates in a game being played by powers invisible to us." Now it was the platform. From the rostrum an aging man was mumbling his way through the lengthy text, but Vera could hear only the rise and fall of the phrases, the low cadence of his voice—and not one clear passage. There were halfhearted attempts by the chair to get silence on the floor, but nothing came of them. The Democrats were in a noisy, loquacious, politicking mood.

When the voice vote came at the end of it, Vera buried her face in her hands. "I couldn't vote, in all honor," she said, "for I didn't know what was in it. Did anyone? One copy was passed out to each delegation—but there wasn't time for it to get around ours. It made me almost physically ill—the most important business of the convention next to balloting and we on the floor literally didn't know what we were doing."

The racing pace of a convention is too swift for any mood to linger long, however, and by the next morning Vera was cheerful again, looking forward to the nominations and the Kefauverites' first chance to show their strength as a unit. She tiptoed out of bed

at seven, intent on getting both breakfast and the caucus under her belt before she came back and met Ray and Joyce, who planned to make their first visit to the convention hall that day. She had pressed her pink wool, a dress of Joyce's, whitened her shoes and curled her hair the night before. Despite the fact that it was two A.M. before she had returned from the hall, she had felt the need of putting her own house in order whether the convention's was or not. She had wanted also to eat, but could find no place open—the Democrats stayed up late but the restaurants didn't.

She was in her place at the convention hall well before time for the scheduled opening at noon, eager to get on with the actual business of nomination.

All around were the signs and symbols of Kefauver. Balloons of every color bobbed and floated overhead (to the disgust of the TV cameramen), placards were wedged between the chairs, confetti, noisemakers and coonskin caps already littered the floor and the galleries. At noon Alabama gave way to Georgia and touched off a half-hour Russell demonstration. Before its echoes had fully died away, Alaska had claimed its alphabetical rights and Kefauver was being nominated.

Vera stood through the speech, her banner—"The Women of America Want Kefauver"—clutched in one hand, and as the file moved out into the aisles she followed the man ahead of her—and the silken golden flag of California ahead of him. Dwarfed by the procession, all she could see was backs, necks, heads and the bottoms of banners. She felt rather than heard the cheerleader hoarsely yelling through the clamor, the organist playing The Battle Hymn of the Republic. She made the wrong turning and got lost; she was jammed in with scores of others; she edged outward, she moved on—and then, suddenly she was thrilled and excited. "I was the one who wanted to keep the demonstrations to five minutes each," she said in amazement. "But this is wonderful!" When she slid back into her seat, the pink of her cheeks matched the pink of her suit. "It's the first thing I've been able to do for Kefauver since I got here," she said laughing. "I guess that's the secret of the demonstration's long life."

By six, however, she was more than ready to leave, but her friends stopped her. Stevenson's parade, they said, was next—and she must see that. Up in the gallery she could see Ray and Joyce still watching, and she stayed.

As two governors nominated their colleague, scores of people leaped over the gallery railings and joined the delegates on the floor. Now many a state banner was seized and pushed into the parade—but not California's—and the din started. With shocked eyes, Vera saw New Jersey join the marchers; she had not believed the reports that despite Kefauver's primary victory in that state, the delegation had switched to Stevenson. As they filed past her chair, she cupped her hands around her mouth and shouted, "Don't you have any respect for what the voters back home want?" She was mad clear through.

Out of the blue, now, another blow fell. Louisiana was being called—despite the fact that she was only to be allowed to "sit." Then, amid even greater uproar, Virginia was recognized and white-haired Governor Battle appeared on the rostrum. Virginia, he said, would sign no pledge—but he would promise that the Democrat nominees would appear on the state ballot. It was moved that Virginia get full voting rights. There was a roll call. The North stood solid, and the count showed Virginia out. But the chair dallied in making the official announcement—and suddenly Illinois switched. Virginia was in.

The word whistled around the floor: "Stevenson wants them in." While Vera stood appalled, hundreds of delegates switched their votes. Not far away, the short stocky figure of Jacob Arvey, Stevenson's friend and Illinois boss, could be seen—receiving congratulations on getting back from dinner just in time.

"No one could make me change my vote like that," Vera said hotly. "No one—not even Kefauver. What kind of delegates are they to turn an agreed-upon rule of the convention inside out to save a few electoral votes?"

She sat down frightened. Beside her, another Californian said cynically, "It's all over now. It's sewed up." Another told of seeing Ed Pauley, California's oil millionaire, seated in the honor-guest section, even though he had been one of the regulars defeated by the Kefauver slate. Vera herself had seen the state's attorney on the floor, wearing not one official badge but two, despite the fact that he, too, was licked in the primary.

"Hail, hail, the machine's all here," a wit commented. "Put a plaque on the door—the Democrats slipped here."

Her old friend and counselor, Sam Gardiner, slumped in his seat.

"We might as well vote Bas for all the good it does now," he said gloomily.

Around them, the convention rolled on. More nominations, more parades, more demonstrations, and more voting, this time on South Carolina. Finally, at two, after a fire broke out in the littered hall, the convention adjourned. Vera went back to her hotel room, sad and deeply resentful. She would have liked to wake Ray and talk to him, but it seemed a sorry thing to do. He had not the oaklike stamina she had; he needed his sleep. Alone, she sat down by the window, near Joyce's cot, to think, to renew her faith in democracy and to study her fears. She had only a slim hope now that Kefauver would win.

Friday, at the California caucus, it was revealed that there were many others who didn't sleep either. Some 300 of the Kefauver and Harriman groups had argued until five in the morning.

Back in the convention hall, the first ballot went with agonizing slowness, with delegation after delegation asking to be polled. Kefauver came out ahead, but still far short of the majority needed to win the nomination. On the second ballot, he picked up a few more votes, and still led the field.

But before the third ballot began, the ax fell; Harriman announced his withdrawal from the race, and urged his supporters to vote for Stevenson. Cheers rocked the hall, but Vera's friends sat in stony loneliness. When California's turn came to vote, its broad-shouldered, dark-haired chairman, George Miller, seized the mike and cried, "California is faithful to the people of California who chose Kefauver. We cast our sixty-eight votes for Estes Kefauver."

The ballot dragged on. Michigan switched to Stevenson, followed by Minnesota. At the end, Vera's tally showed Stevenson on the edge of victory. Then the chairman permitted Kefauver to step forward from the rear of the speaker's platform, where he had been waiting more than an hour for a chance to speak.

Madly California cheered, sending their banner topped with a coonskin hat to the front of the rostrum. Then, while Vera wept openly, Kefauver waved to them and then, in measured tones, withdrew his candidacy and urged his supporters to vote for Stevenson—"who is qualified in every respect." The chairman recognized Utah, which switched. Stevenson was in with one vote to spare.

Russell and the chairman declared Stevenson's victory "unanimous." California yelled "No," again, Vera standing on her chair, cupping her mouth with her hands. Astonished, the chairman changed his statement to "victory by acclamation."

For an hour, then, while the hall waited for President Truman and Governor Stevenson to arrive, the band played. Truman jauntily praised the convention's choice, and Stevenson stepped forward.

"I accept your nomination and your program," he said—and the holdouts capitulated.

Smiling, Vera cheered along with the rest. "I can't help but like that man when I see him," she said.

"But I don't think I'll ever grant that he was honestly drafted."

Ray was waiting for her that night. He had tucked Joyce in at about ten and watched the convention windup on the TV set of a friend down the hall. He was even more upset than Vera.

"To think Kefauver lost to a man who didn't even campaign," Vera said. "Who betrayed the whole democratic processes—and called it a draft."

"Maybe Kefauver will get the vice-presidency," Ray said.

Kefauver didn't. He said, "under no circumstances" would he accept it, but there were whispers that he hadn't been asked. He gallantly held a breakfast for his supporters, and over the coffee cups again urged them to work for Stevenson. When he saw Vera he put his hands on her shoulders and kissed her gently on the forehead. "It was a good fight," he said.

Vera blinked back her tears. "Maybe next time," she said.

The Schultzes drove out of the city Sunday at dawn, Joyce cuddled beside her mother, holding her hand, Ray again at the wheel. They had had joyous plans for this return trip—a visit to Glacier Park, a tour through the Columbia River gorge, a ride down the ocean highway leading out of Seattle. For two days they tried to have fun. "Let's just go home," Joyce said on Tuesday, voicing the thoughts of all. "Everything's nicer there."

For three weeks after they got home, Vera's heart was heavy. She was pleased when George Miller was elected state chairman, and interested in his remarks that complaints about a machine victory in Chicago were "crybaby talk." She laughed skeptically when the old guard formed a "Volunteer's Organization for Stevenson." "A professional organization, they ought to call it," she said.

She attended a luncheon called by the representative of the Women's Division of the party, and explained that she couldn't help run the local campaign for Stevenson because of her own candidacy. When her alternate, Nancy Strawbridge, was picked to work in the Marin County campaign, she was glad. Nancy was on fire to be a full-fledged politician. "We need her," Vera said. "The more fresh, eager young people we get who know the score, the less chance there will be we'll have another convention like that one."

She gave an interview to the local paper admitting that though she thought Stevenson was a fine man, she also thought he was "thrust down our throats" by "the old-line politicians and the big-city machines who made pawns of the delegates."

"How can you criticize the party like that?" one friend wailed, but Vera just laughed.

"I've never been a hypocrite," she said.

"You are so right," another delegate said. "I'd have lost all faith in you if you hadn't told the truth about what happened."

The interview marked the turning point in her conflict. Now that she had her protests off her chest, on the record, she felt free to turn her back on the convention and face the choice that now lay before her.

"And of course, being me," she said, "as soon as I did that I hadn't any choice. The Democratic platform comes out so much more clearly for specific issues and important principles than the Republican platform that there is no comparison between the two for me. Machine politics operate powerfully in both parties. The resistance against them must come from within, so I'll stay in my party and fight. As for corruption—Stevenson's record as governor shows no corruption, and I believe he'll do what he says he will—'clean up that mess in Washington.' It's the individual's qualities that determine his fitness for public office, and Stevenson is obviously a man of such courage and high intelligence that I think he will take his place among the great men of history."

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